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No. 2

TEACHING RELIGION IN WAR TIME.....	Henry Nelson Wieman	75
THE RELEVANCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.....	Muriel Streibert Curtis	81
THE MESSAGE OF THE EIGHTH-CENTURY PROPHETS FOR TODAY ..	Ovid R. Sellers	88
THE MESSAGE OF THE SEVENTH-CENTURY PROPHETS FOR TODAY..	J. Philip Hyatt	93
THE MESSAGE OF THE EXILIC PROPHETS FOR TODAY.....	William A. Irwin	98
THE MESSAGE OF THE POST-EXILIC PROPHETS FOR TODAY.....	Otto J. Baab	104
PROBLEMS IN TEACHING THE OLD TESTAMENT TO COLLEGE STUDENTS.....	Rolland E. Wolfe	107
PRESENTATION OF JOB IN THE CLASSROOM	Margaret B. Crook	113
NIEBUHR'S "THE NATURE AND DESTINY OF MAN," Vol. II.....	Reviewed by Joseph Haroutunian	117
DISCUSSION: A COMMENT AND A CORRECTION.....	Charles C. Torrey	120

BOOK REVIEWS:

ROBERTS, DAVID E., AND VAN DUSEN, HENRY PITT (EDITORS), LIBERAL THEOLOGY: AN APPRAISAL	By William H. Bernhardt	121
MACKAY, JOHN A., HERITAGE AND DESTINY	By S. Vernon McCasland	122
WATERMAN, LEROY, RELIGION FACES THE WORLD CRISIS	By John Mason Wells	123
EDDY, SHERWOOD, MAN DISCOVERS GOD	By Paul F. Laubenstein	124
KALLEN, H. M. (EDITOR), IN COMMEMORATION OF WILLIAM JAMES.....	By Edgar Sheffield Brightman	125
WILSON, GEORGE ARTHUR, RECKONING WITH LIFE.....	By Horace T. Houf	126
TANNER, EUGENE S., THE NAZI CHRIST	By Elmer W. K. Mould	127
SCHOLEM, GERSHOM G., MAJOR TRENDS IN JEWISH MYSTICISM.....	By Trude Weiss Rosmarin	128
GLANVILLE, S. R. K., THE LEGACY OF EGYPT	By Robert H. Pfeiffer	129
LATOURETTE, KENNETH SCOTT, THE GREAT CENTURY (1800-1914) IN THE AMERICAS, AUSTRALIA AND AFRICA. VOLUME V OF A HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY	By Charles S. Braden	130

BOOK NOTICES:

MCCONNELL, FRANCIS J., EVANGELICALS, REVOLUTIONISTS, AND IDEALISTS...	By Ivan Gerould Grimshaw	132
WHALE, J. W., CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE	By Elmer E. Voelkel	132
TEMPLE, WILLIAM, THE HOPE OF A NEW WORLD	By Elmer E. Voelkel	132
FREEHOF, SOLOMON B., MODERN JEWISH PREACHING	By Trude Weiss Rosmarin	134
BERMAN, JEREMIAH J., SHEHITAH	By Trude Weiss Rosmarin	134
RUSH, BENJAMIN, THE ROAD TO FULFILMENT	By Ivan Gerould Grimshaw	134

THE ASSOCIATION:

PERSONNEL	135
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THE CONTRIBUTOR'S COLUMN

HENRY NELSON WIEMAN writes us in connection with his article on "Teaching Religion in War Time": "I am deeply concerned about the problem of education and feel that it is going to rise to a matter of ruling importance in the post-war world. For several years I have been struggling with the problem of how to bring religion into education in a general way. This article is one expression of that concern." Readers of this Journal do not need to be told who Dr. Wieman is. We shall simply state that his official title is Professor of the Philosophy of Religion in The Divinity School of the University of Chicago.

MURIEL S. CURTIS is Professor and Head of the Department of Biblical History and Literature in Wellesley College. Her paper on "The Relevance of the Old Testament" was read at the Harvard Faculty Club, Cambridge, February 13, before a regional meeting of the N.A.B.I. and the Boston group of Fellows of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education. The Macmillan Company has recently published *The Story of the Bible People*, by Mrs. Curtis.

OVID R. SELLERS is Professor of Old Testament at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago. His paper, together with those of Professors Hyatt, Irwin, and Baab, was intended to be part of a symposium scheduled for the Chicago meeting of the Mid-western branch, January 15-16, 1943. Since the meeting could not be held, we are especially glad to be able to print the symposium *in toto*. Dean Sellers has always been particularly interested in the economic and social aspects of the Old Testament, since he once intended to be a sociologist.

J. PHILIP HYATT is Associate Professor of Old Testament in the School of Religion of Vanderbilt University. For a number of years Professor Hyatt has been specially concerned with studies of the prophet Jeremiah, having published five articles on various phases of his life and work in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, and the *Crozer Quarterly*. Dr. Hyatt is Archaeological Editor of this Journal.

WILLIAM A. IRWIN has been since 1930 Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature at the University of Chicago. Readers of this Journal do not need to be told of Professor Irwin's particular interest in and contributions to the study of the prophet Ezekiel.

OTTO J. BAAB is Professor of Old Testament Interpretation at Garrett Biblical Institute. He is now engaged in writing a book on Prophetic Religion.

(Concluded on page 131)

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Teaching Religion in War Time

HENRY NELSON WIEMAN

THE PROBLEM as I see it is not so much teaching religion as teaching religiously. Perhaps a better way of saying it is that we do not teach religion at all unless we do it religiously. Therefore the latter is our real problem.

The goal of education, let us say, is to magnify the appreciableness of the world for the student. Otherwise put, it is to increase the appreciative capacity of the individual's mind. The world becomes more appreciable when its evils as well as its goods can be more clearly distinguished and correctly appraised. To appreciate the world is to appraise the evil as evil quite as much as to appraise the good as good. Through the educative process a mind should be able to distinguish and appraise in greater scope, with finer discrimination, with more vivid contrasts, and with richer content. Increasing the appreciableness of the world is the objective side of the educative process, increasing the appreciative capacity of the human mind is the subjective side.

All this is accomplished, we believe, by a certain kind of interchange between individuals. We shall call this interchange creative communication, to distinguish it from communication which merely imparts factual information, or merely arouses an impulse to act, or merely generates a feeling. Creative communication is that kind of communication by which we become aware of one another's perspectives. Through it we get the other person's viewpoint, not merely

intellectually, but as something which one feels, and as something which gives direction and organization to the conduct of that other person so far as concerns the matter in question.

Creative communication is made up of four distinguishable happenings. They are:

(1) Emergence into awareness of a new perspective when linguistic signs are used.

(2) Integration of diverse perspectives into the unique individuality of the person concerned.

(3) Expansion of the appreciable world accessible to the mind of the individual.

(4) Widening and deepening of community between individuals through mutual understanding.

These four, emergent awareness, progressive personal integration, expansion of the appreciable world, growth of mutual understanding, are parts of the one and same thing. That one and same thing of which these four are parts we call the creativity that works in creative communication. To teach religiously is to teach with trust and self-giving to this creativity.

I. EMERGENT AWARENESS OF A NEW PERSPECTIVE

New perspectives rise to consciousness when I communicate with others. To me in my little valley among the hills a stranger comes and begins to talk. He tells me of a great war raging around the world. Immediately a new perspective emerges in

my mind. No longer do I see my world peaceful with cattle and crops but I see it aflame with wrath and destruction. In some such manner as this, new perspectives are continuously emerging when we communicate with others. Many of these may be errors but there is nothing evil about error if it is rightly treated. Error, first emergent as a perspective and then corrected by further perspectives, is the chief route by which the appreciable world expands. It is the chief route by which the capacity of the mind to appreciate is magnified.

The emergence of new perspectives, when we interact with others through the use of signs both linguistic and non-linguistic, is such a common and continuous experience with us all that we scarcely notice it. Yet it is very wonderful when you stop to think about it. These emergent perspectives can be called intuitions or insights or given some other name, provided we see how remarkable they are and how frequent they are. Recent psychology seems to have concluded that these perspectives are not gradually built up out of raw sense experience but come to us as wholes, as gestalten, intuitions or insights.*

The emergence of new perspectives in the human mind manifests the super-human character of creativity. I cannot make a new insight emerge. I cannot make myself become aware of the perspective of another. Neither can he make me, nor can any teacher. All that any of us can do is to provide conditions most favorable for its emergence in my mind or in the mind of the student. If the awareness does not come under these conditions we all are helpless. Every experienced teacher will testify that he is helpless beyond this point. This intuition of a new perspective is a miracle which every teacher patiently waits for and beholds with wonder and joy when it happens. Any teacher who thinks that he himself has

done it when it occurs had better quit trying to teach for he always hinders and blocks the emergence of a new insight when he tries to construct it in the mind of the student. All that he can do is to work with utmost devotion to provide conditions most favorable for its emergence, his own attitude being one of the most important of these favoring conditions. A gardener who tries to make blossoms unfold by his own efforts instead of working only to provide the needed conditions is highly destructive. There are fools who should be rigorously kept out of gardens and out of schools.

2. PROGRESSIVE PERSONAL INTEGRATION

The integrating within each individual of the diverse perspectives created in communication is the second happening in the sequence of creativity. Through communication, one might say, a person comes to see through the eyes of a million other men, to feel through their sensitivities and think through their minds. But such a way of putting it is not exactly accurate. In literal fact many perspectives are created in his mind by communication, and then these are subtly transformed and unified into the uniqueness of his own individual vision of the world. When this does not happen, when he merely repeats by rote what he has got from others through books, radio or personal presence, creative communication has to that degree not occurred and education has miscarried. Some obstacle has blocked creativity. The obstacle may be physiological, in the student himself. It may be the personal attitude of the teacher that is at fault. Some other required condition may be lacking or may be wrong.

This modifying and merging of diverse perspectives into the unique individuality of the student is again something which no human being can do by direct effort. The student cannot arrange these emergent thoughts and feelings into the pattern of his own individuality by devising the pattern and fitting the ideas into it. If he should

*See F. W. Allport's *Personality* (1937) for the best summary of recent work in the field of psychology, giving special treatment to this particular problem.

try to do that, or if the teacher or the teaching community should try to do it for the student, he becomes artificial. He assumes a pose, a sham self, although this may be unintentional on his part. He or his teachers may be quite sincere in their efforts. But when they try to do for the student this work of progressive personal integration which is the doing of creativity, they always produce inner falsity. We all have met people like that. Perhaps we all suffer more or less from this false artificiality. It always causes a conflict and blockage between the true self and this sham uniqueness of the pose. Here again creativity must be given free rein to do its own work. Education, including the efforts of the student himself, can only serve this creativity by providing what it may demand, practicing the needed procedures, and letting it go its own way. Progressive personal integration cannot be directed by the intent of the individual because it transforms his intent as it occurs. It cannot be directed by his mind because it is precisely his mind that is being created and magnified by its working. This personal integration, however, can be facilitated by providing conditions favorable to its occurrence. One of these conditions is religious commitment to this creativity.

3. EXPANSION OF THE APPRECIABLE WORLD

As new perspectives emerge and are integrated into the unity of his mind, the individual becomes able to react appreciatively to a wider and fuller world. The objects, events and qualities with which he deals are not only multiplied but are unified into some inclusive structure of meaning. The world that he can appreciate becomes larger, fuller and more meaningful. History unfolds for him into the past and yet lives presently in his own mind and in the minds of his associates. The physical world unveils its depths and heights. The intricacies of society stand forth as matters

of his personal concern. The realms of beauty, of moral distinctions and possibilities, of love and devotion, expand about him.

This expansion of the appreciable world, like the first two parts of creative communication called emergent awareness and personal integration, is not humanly created. The teacher cannot make the student appreciate what he does not appreciate, nor can the teacher make himself do so. No human being can aim specifically to achieve appreciation for what he does not appreciate. To the degree that one cultivates appreciation for anything, he does thereby to that degree already appreciate it. If he has the first germ of appreciation for it he can only to a germinal degree cultivate his appreciation of it. So here likewise as in the case of the other parts of creativity in communication, we have something that is perhaps always at work in us and among us but is never itself directly our own doing. We can, however, facilitate it by helping to provide the needed conditions and by yielding the total structure of our own personalities and of our society to its transformative working. Providing the conditions when experimentally controlled to this end is education. Yielding the total structure of self and society to its working is the kind of religion which such education requires. The two should work together and should work in one another.

4. GROWTH OF COMMUNITY

The fourth and final event which consummates this creativity is the widening and deepening of community between individuals by an increase in mutual understanding. This is inseparable from the first three and must ensue if they occur. Growth in mutual understanding does not mean that we approve or agree with the mind of the other. In fact we cannot truly disagree or disapprove unless we first know what it is that we oppose. We must first have it as

a perspective by way of creative communication before we can deny its worth. When I hold to be evil what the other considers good I have community with him as truly as when our evaluations coincide. Furthermore, when I become aware of how the other values things although I disagree, my own appreciation of them is widened, sharpened and vivified. Disagreement can do this quite as well as agreement, providing our differences do not diminish our interchange and mutual understanding of one another's viewpoints.

This virtue and beneficence of disagreement, when rightly treated, is a fact of utmost importance that must be clearly seen and appreciated if we are to find our way constructively in these times of great conflict, when diverse races, nations, classes and interests are thrown into close interdependence.

Community grows in four dimensions and these four cannot be separated: (1) more of each individual is understood and appreciated by the others even when they disapprove and disagree with that in him which they understand and appreciate for what it is; (2) more individuals are brought into this circle of mutual understanding which includes genuine and appreciative disagreement along with agreement; (3) the appreciable world and the appreciative mind of each are enriched increasingly by the distinctions and appraisals made by other participants in this interchange; (4) the power of each to achieve greater things is magnified by the increasing scope, intricacy and effectiveness of cooperation with each and all. More individuals, more of each individual, more mutual enrichment, and more power for each, are the characteristics which mark growth of community.

Growth of community, along with emergent awareness, personal integration, and growing appreciation, is not ever the direct doing of man. The teacher and the teaching community can serve this growth by striving to meet its requirements, but at

best they are its servants, not its master. This also is demonstrable in such a way as to show that it is not a limitation which in the course of time can be outgrown by the mind, because this limitation is intrinsic to the very nature of mind.

Any growth in mutual understanding, whereby more individuals are understood, more of each individual is appreciated, more mutual enrichment and more cooperation achieved, will necessitate a transformation in all participant minds. What they appreciate, the scope and richness of their appreciation, the world they appreciate, all will be different. Therefore if any group, whether a ruling few, the people as a whole, a dictator or a revolutionary band, try to control the transformations of society, thinking thereby to direct the growth of community, they will so control it as to make it take on a character which they are able to anticipate with the sort of minds they have. But the growth of community requires the transformation of their minds. Hence to the degree that they succeed in controlling social change, their control will block the transformations involved in genuine growth of community. Therefore the growth of community is something which is beyond the power of human doing. This perhaps is the strongest argument for democracy with one understanding of democracy.

Certainly governing groups must plan to give society some structure and organization, or strive to conserve some organization already achieved, providing two conditions are met. The social organization planned or conserved must be known to be of a sort to facilitate creative communication. (This is the root of democracy.) Secondly, it must be held always subject to change when the requirements of social creativity may require it. In other words, social planning and governmental control must be held subject to the higher sovereignty of creativity. A government or a revolutionary group or any other agency that directs or seeks to direct social change is a mon-

strous evil to be cast off by war if there is no other way, when it repudiates this higher control and claims to be supreme in its own right. "Under God" must be more than a conventional phrase when uttered by a governing group.

This reference to government and politics shows that education is not peculiar in being required to serve the creativity that generates and magnifies the human mind and personality, human culture and the growth of meaning in history. Religion, industry, politics, art, home-life, education, each has its work to do in meeting the requirements of creativity. All must be its servants, none can be its master. While they all have this in common, they differ in the kind of service they render. We have tried to distinguish the peculiar nature of the work of education in serving the supreme end of all human living.

If the above be true, this creativity is the working of God through education. We contend that it generates all the other goods of life which originate at the level distinctively human. Creativity working at the biological level and at levels still lower in the cosmic scale, produces other goods which human beings must have. But the goods of personality and culture, the humanly appreciable world and the humanly appreciative mind, originate and grow by way of creative communication. If that is true, the work of education is to facilitate creative communication by providing conditions more highly controlled than elsewhere, and by practicing the procedures best fitted to serve it under those highly controlled conditions. Most important of these conditions and procedures is the religion of the teaching community. To this we now turn.

In our analysis of creativity we have made plain that no man can foresee the specific product that creativity will bring forth, because the very first part of its working is the emergence of a new perspective which cannot be experienced in any way until it has emerged in the mind of the individual.

So also with every other one of the four parts. In respect to none of them can a man foresee what the outcome of creativity will be. Therefore, to serve it when it takes away what one loves, he must accept it as the creator of all good without seeing the outcome of its working. He must accept it in this way and put himself under its sovereign control. But when he does that he has made a religious commitment of faith. To do that is to have a religion. But to do that is also a necessary part of the educative process if our analysis and interpretation of education has been correct.

What the human mind can know about creativity is that it always and everywhere (when it is free to work) increases the appreciableness of the world, however painful that may be to man. It increases the capacity of the mind to distinguish and appraise the good and the evil. When the creativity in creative communication is seen to be of this nature one can serve it, no matter what it may cost in suffering, in loss of old goods, in transformation of the world, in change of one's own mind and personality and social order. One can serve it thus if one accepts as the essential nature of human good this increase in the appreciableness of the world and in the capacity of the human mind to appreciate.

Men do not "naturally" accept this as the essential nature of human good. That is, they are not born with such a nature that they inevitably do so or inevitably will do so. Only if they undergo what has been called rebirth, conversion, transvaluation of values, do they esteem this increase in the scope, precision, vividness and richness of distinguished and appraised happenings to be identical with increase in the good of human life, however painful and costly.

It is apparent that the religion underlying the educative process is not an easy kind. But if it is carefully examined it will be found, I think, to contain most of the fundamental characters inherent in the great world religions called redemptive. Chris-

tians, for example, will want to know just how the important ingredients of their own faith are implicit in this religion. That they are implicit in it can be shown, although I cannot pause at this point to set them forth.

Let us summarize the indispensability to the educative process of this kind of religion. The demonstration can be put in the form of four propositions:

Creative communication is the creative source of all that is good at the level of life distinctively human.

The work of education is to facilitate this creative communication by providing conditions more highly controlled than elsewhere, and by practicing the procedures fitted to those conditions.

The teaching community that sets up these conditions and practices these procedures cannot meet the requirements of creativity unless they put themselves under its control by way of a religious commitment of faith.

Therefore, effective education is impossible without the personal commitment of religious faith to this creativity which is always more than human, and which it is the business of

education to serve above all else.

In time of war and in the peace that follows the war, there must be at least a minority more devoted to creativity than ever. Such devotion and commitment is more imperatively demanded because the great crises and turning points of history present a magnitude of evil to be avoided and a magnitude of good to be attained, greater than at other times. Destruction is more devastating and possibilities of newly created good more magnificent. The dam of custom is broken, the floods are let loose. Ghastly evils and glorious possibilities walk among us whether we see them or not. A relatively few, so educated that they can live and die under the control of creativity, have an unequalled opportunity in such a time. Their opportunity is to ward off or reduce evils greater than the evils of other periods. Also their opportunity is to start developments that can actualize greater possibilities of good.

"Teaching religion in war time" is a tame way of referring to the task of rearing a group so committed to creativity that they will be the saving remnant that will make our times mightily creative in the midst of all this destructiveness.

The Relevance of the Old Testament Today

MURIEL STREIBERT CURTIS

MUCH OLD TESTAMENT scholarly work of late years has been concerned with the minutiae of particular passages, or at most with the sources and problems of individual books. It is time that we should consider the larger meanings of the Old Testament, what it stands for, in what direction it points, lest if and when the secular world, dismayed with its failure to achieve even tolerable human relationships, should be ready to turn to the Bible for guidance, we Biblical students might have no help to give.

How can one treat such a comprehensive subject as the relevance of the Old Testament today in a brief paper? The Old Testament is a library. To bring order or coherence into one's understanding of "today" another library would be necessary. But in spite of the many differing conceptions of God and His demands of men, there are some points of view that do characterize Old Testament religion, especially on its higher levels, from the age of Amos on. We shall concern ourselves with these and have in mind the relevance of the Old Testament for one who has understood and made his own the spirit of the Old Testament as suggested (necessarily without argument) in the seven statements that follow. Again, we must narrow "today" rather arbitrarily to certain special conditions, trends of thought, dangers and opportunities which the writer is convinced we are facing or shall probably soon face. Naturally much that is sug-

gested here as representing the point of view of the Old Testament is carried farther or made more persuasive in the New Testament.

I

The Old Testament is sure that God is important, more important than any other factor in life, that He, indeed, does not rank with other factors, for He dominates and determines them all. God is real to men of the Old Testament, is active, is effective, is always to be taken into account. This holds true through all the stages of their thought, however they conceive of God's nature and character. The recognition of God, the orientation of thought and action to God, which is the basic requisite for religious living, stands out on every page of the Old Testament. Whether one turns to law, narrative, prophecy or poetry, one finds men remembering God or being reprimanded by their leaders for failing to do so.*

The typical Hebrew felt awe and reverence for God and offered Him homage. The typical modern man does not. Said a college student, "What is this *reverence* you talk about? I never felt reverence for anything or anybody." Multitudes who might not express their feeling so baldly, still do not know from their own experience what worship means, for our civilization has become predominantly secular, more impressed by the wonders of science than by the thought of God, more desirous of securing the things which the application of science has made possible than of doing the will of the Lord. The Old Testament is relevant if it offers something which a "this-worldly" age needs, whether or not the age has yet become conscious of its need. That there are signs of such a beginning conscious-

*The Song of Songs and the book of Esther in their original meanings, though not in their later interpretations, are probably exceptions to this statement, as are many proverbs, (those from what Prof. Pfeiffer calls the secular school) unless one supposes that the wisdom writers continually took for granted that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom").

ness, signs of a "religious awakening" the modern Habakkuks in their watch-towers report. The fact that even the Nazis have introduced a certain kind of cult and symbolism and that they invoke the old pagan gods shows how natural it is for us human beings to rely on a "power not ourselves."

In the Old Testament this "power not ourselves" is ethical, though irrational manifestations occasionally appear in the earlier accounts. It may be hard at times for men to *see* that God is acting righteously, but there is confidence that if man were capable of completely understanding God, man would be completely satisfied as to God's justice. At least it is possible so to interpret the author of Job.

Because God is righteous He insists that men shall be. The fact that the Old Testament so steadily links religion and ethics, the fact that standards for men's ways of life and the motivation of men's efforts are not merely social, but are definitely religious, is exceedingly significant for us. The break-down of the whole secular fabric in our day, the disintegration and disunity of France which made her such an easy prey for the Germans, are showing to many the need of mankind for spiritual unity and a higher control than that of mere human standards. The very challenge which Nazism and Fascism have presented to secularism in their bold departure from such previously widely-accepted ideals as humanitarianism and freedom of speech has raised the question of what sanctions there are for ideals beyond the preferences of one group or another. We are hearing much of ideologies. The Nazis have won their incredible support from multitudes not only in their own land but in others, in part because they have linked action to authoritative beliefs. So must we, and to sounder ones, if we are to compete with them, if our ideals are to be compelling. Deeds and dogma belong together. "It would seem that in the long run, man cannot live by ideals alone, but only on some reality on which

ideals can feed," says John M. Baillie. *Techniques* for carrying out ideals we must learn from other sources than religion, but the root and vitality of ideals derive from religion.

In showing time and again and in multitudes of ways that God is good, that He is just and merciful, the Old Testament writers invest the conception of God with meaning and reality. A college student said that the main contribution of her Old Testament study lay just here, that whereas she had previously been convinced that she must give up her childish pictures of a God who was immensely real to her, and had felt that there was nothing left but a vague abstraction who mattered very little, she now has gained a conception of a God who was wholly spiritual but richly meaningful. She could again put some *content* into her thought of God. Many today are in need of just that help.

To be sure, one must be accustomed to and not be misled by the vivid, concrete, pictorial manner of speech of the Bible, or many statements about God will seem too crudely anthropomorphic to appeal to modern minds; for example, in Amos 9 the Lord says, "I will slay the last of them with the sword; there shall not one of them flee away. . . . Though they dig into hell, thence shall my hand take them and though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down. Though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent and it shall bite them." I have had students say that that passage was repellent to them. One even called it nauseating. It seems to them to present a picture of God as a superman, vindictively striking out at scurrying animals and saying, "I'll get you yet." But when I have asked students whether they believe that men can outwit God and by clever human schemes escape His justice, they do not.

"Oh, if *that* is what Amos is saying, it's all right!"

III

The Old Testament knows that the will and control of God are seen in history, but that important choices are left to man, so that both God and man play significant parts in determining history. What happened to men and nations was not a matter of chance and was not solely dependent on size of armies or wealth, equipment and prestige of peoples, but was related to the will of God and was a revelation of His character. This belief is evident throughout the Old Testament, from the astonishing rescue of the harried little group trying to escape from Egypt through to the philosophy of world history in the book of Daniel. That this belief was not an easy one to hold when things were going hardly with the Hebrew armies or nation is evidenced by the stubborn incredulity of the men with whom Isaiah and Jeremiah labored. But the best of them knew that it was so, knew that they could not accept the assurance of God's concern for them as seen in the crossing of the Red Sea and ignore the rebuke and warning of Sennacherib's or Nebuchadrezzar's attacking hordes. "Ho, Assyria, rod of mine anger! . . . Against the people of my wrath I give him a charge" was as potent a message as that "By a mighty hand and an outstretched arm" they had been led "out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." They knew that the right interpretation of what happened was as important as the circumstances themselves and that if they could understand events aright they would learn basic truths about the God of history. They knew that in deciding what steps they should take in dealing with other nations they ought to turn to God for guidance lest for example, in going to Egypt for help they might be "carrying out a plan which is not mine." They knew also that while God might warn and exhort them through the prophets, He would not

force them. They were free, but they were deciding real, not make-believe issues and the consequences of their actions would be writ large for all men to see—writ in history. They could disregard the will of God, but not with impunity. There was something fixed and rock-like in the will of God. If a nation defied it, a nation could be wrecked as on a rocky reef. A God of character and power had made a world which would not permanently tolerate defiance of His principles. It was God's world into which men were born, not one of their own making and they must adjust themselves to it, not expect it to adjust itself to them.

In relating these insights to our day, we must again not be thrown off the track by the Biblical pictorial manner of speech, nor by the Hebrew belief in the directness and immediacy of God's interventions in human affairs, which seems almost naïve to modern thought. In Is. 5:25 Yahweh raises a signal and whistles or hisses for a distant nation to come on as His agent of judgment. (Perhaps such a passage raises a question—*Was* it just pictorial manner of speech? Did the prophet believe that every movement of troops, every advance and retreat of armies was directly responsive to the will of the Lord? If so, are we agreed in saying that is impossible for modern thought? When the Germans went into Greece, did the Lord take them in?) We must get down to the basic tenets of Hebrew belief and consider whether their insights are still pertinent. To many it is only these insights that can clear up the confusion of thought which is evident today when men try to relate the idea of God to the chaos, ferocity and misery of a world at war. For some, however, confusion is yielding to penitence, complacency is breaking down, pride and self-sufficiency are being humbled because they are hearing the word of God through the prophets of Israel. As a college sophomore said, after

studying the messages of Amos and Isaiah to the Hebrews, "We are those people."

IV

The kingdom of God will come. God's purpose of good for men will ultimately be achieved. Though this purpose was differently understood in varying ages, there was always confidence that the best was yet to be, that the Golden Age lay in the future, not in the past. The Hebrews were always "prisoners of hope," a hope which delivered them from devastating or long-continued doubt. Doubt was a stepping stone, not a resting place, for Hebrew, in contrast to Babylonian and Egyptian thinkers. (Kohleth was not a typical Hebrew in this respect. The contrast between Ecclesiastes and all other Biblical books shows clearly what the *characteristic* Biblical attitude was.)

The fact that (in the later centuries at least) the full fruition of men's hopes was placed "beyond history" and that God was the chief actor in bringing this about, saved the Hebrews from cynicism at times when the effort of men seemed to accomplish little and when the years went on and on, freighted with the old load of human miseries and sin. Many today are convinced that the Hebrews saw aright here, that our dreams of the brave new world we will build after this war is over are doomed to disappointment, that we can never have a real Utopia without Utopian men as its inhabitants and that there is no reason to think that human nature is going to be radically changed. Some recognized abuses we can and must do away with to be sure, some old wrongs can be righted, but human greed and pride, human indifference to the needs of others if our own needs are being met, will continue and find new means of expression in the generations to come. So if we are not to be swamped by a wave of cynicism when the fruits of all our efforts and self-sacrifice in this war are weighed and found less than we had anticipated, we

must fortify ourselves in advance by this Biblical recognition that men can only prepare themselves for the Kingdom, not achieve it.

Of course the fear is often expressed that such teaching leads to passivity, to easy justification for inertia, to acceptance of wrongs that could and should be righted by determined and vigorous human endeavor. We certainly must not let the apocalyptists drown out the voices of the eighth-century prophets crying, "Seek justice, relieve the oppressed, vindicate the orphan, plead for the widow." Wisdom and relevancy are to be found in both groups of counsellors. There is a challenge in the oft-reiterated injunction to "trust in the Lord." We need to keep reconsidering the problem of what we can trust the Lord to do and what He is trusting us to do. But there would be today a more general agreement than would have been possible some years ago that men have relied too exclusively on their own powers and have overlooked the abysses in human nature which furnish shaky foundations for any building which rests on man alone. The Old Testament with its confidence in the *Lord* furnishes a much needed corrective.

V

Another characteristic of the Old Testament approach to life is a deep satisfaction in the things of the spirit. Learning and doing the will of God, thanking Him, praising Him, trusting Him, reflecting on Him and His ways with men, communing with Him, bring genuine and lasting joy which is not linked to earthly possessions and good fortune. To be sure, it was long thought that good fortune would be the result of faith and obedience, but when the facts of life riddled the doctrine of retribution, some of the Hebrews at least learned that spiritual joys had their own independent existence and were able to say, "Though the fig tree shall not flourish, neither shall the fruit be in the vines . . .

yet will I rejoice in Jehovah, I will joy in the God of my salvation." Jeremiah and the book of Psalms furnish countless illustrations of this experience. The attitude was maintained without any tendency toward asceticism. The folly of heaping up this world's goods, the bad effect of needless luxuries on the character of the possessor, and the unhealthiness in group life of extremes of wealth and poverty were recognized (emphatically in Amos, Isaiah and Micah) but the Hebrews seem never to have concluded that deliberate deprivations, vows of poverty, mortification of the flesh, had any positive values in the religious life. Instead they rejoiced in "the precious things of the earth and the fulness thereof" as well as in the "good-will of Him that dwelt in the bush." (One recalls the Rechabites, but their vows and renunciations had a special motivation, which differentiates them from the ascetics of other religions.) Putting it all together, one can understand how C. G. Montefiore could write, "A marked characteristic of the Old Testament is joy."

Surely such a religion is relevant for a people who find themselves losing the old comforts or enduring actual privations and obliged to face a future in which for a long time the restoring of the basic necessities to the many will have to take precedence of comforts for the few. One imbued with the Old Testament spirit must feel that he can let luxuries slip away easily when need arises, or if he has never had luxuries, that he can still count himself fortunate if he knows God. He understands Jeremiah, "Let not the rich man glory in his riches . . . but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he hath understanding and knoweth me."

We are going to need that spirit in the days to come. We shall need to be able to savor the simple joys available to all men, "the precious things of the ancient mountains," the voice of the turtle-dove, the children playing in the streets—and also

to so live as to say, "Thy word is the joy and the rejoicing of my heart, for I am called by thy name," unless we are to resign ourselves to mere dogged endurance of drab-colored life. We in America, so much more fortunate than men in any other country, may well cultivate the thankful spirit of the psalmists, recognizing that gratitude breeds a sense of responsibility and that in turn a spirit of penitence. We need growth along both these lines today.

VI

A deep sense of community loyalty was bred in the Hebrews from their earliest nomad days of intense clan fealty to the late experiences of persecution for devotion to the law, when in the fires of suffering that tenacity and cohesiveness were forged which ever afterwards characterizes the loyal Jewish group. Of course there were dangers in this loyalty, dangers that it should prove, as it often did, a narrowing experience, that it should degenerate into an exclusive nationalism and breed a feeling of pride and superiority or even of hostility to those outside the group. One sees the Hebrews gloriously overcoming these temptations in Second Isaiah and Jonah, but slipping down from the heights in much of the later literature. There was no steady upward growth.

Shall we say then that the Old Testament is pertinent today in that it shows both the strength and the weaknesses inherent in community loyalty? Shows them to our age which is confronted with the problem of a world rent into hostile groups, a world that is beginning to realize that it must overcome its racial and national pride and prejudices and weld its lesser loyalties into a single all-inclusive one if it is to be saved from chaos and self-destruction? In the din of bursting bombs cannot the separate "sovereign" nations hear the Lord saying, "I planned a *world* and a world I will have, at whatever cost, a world of men who know they belong together because they all belong to me"?

We face today groups of men who are bound together by fanatical loyalties, who have a most ardent sense of community solidarity and who have committed themselves whole-heartedly and irrevocably to the leader of their group, willingly forfeiting even independence and freedom if so the group aims may be attained. Yet those aims which can only be achieved through exploitation of other groups cannot be tolerated. How can those solidarities be dealt with? Not by men who know no self-effacing, deep-seated loyalties, who have made no commitment of themselves to any cause or leader. But their loyalty must be a larger than national one and the leader more trustworthy than a deluded man. We must learn the meaning of Kierkegaard's saying, "Relate thyself relatively to the relative and absolutely to the Absolute." Here the Old Testament, used discriminately, can help us, for at times the Hebrews did recognize that since their group was bound together not merely by human, but by divine-human bonds and that since God was universal, the group goodwill must be extended to all, "unto the end of the earth." When William Paton says, "The key to community lies in the recognition of something that transcends human community" he gives modern expression to a realization at which the Old Testament arrives.

One more point in connection with the strong feeling of group loyalty in the Old Testament is the natural resulting sense of responsibility for all within the group. It is interesting that the first question in the Old Testament is "Where art thou?" emphasizing the responsibility of man to God and the second is "Where is thy brother?" That man is his brother's keeper in the sight of God is brought out in narrative, law and prophecy. What we have come to call social ethics is the ethics chiefly stressed in the Old Testament. Both for correcting a too individualistic type of modern religion and for suggesting to un-religious social idealists the backing and support which re-

ligion, truly conceived, gives to efforts for social reform, the study of the Old Testament is useful.

VII

Unity through diversity and a great variety of forms of appeal to a single basic loyalty are found in the Old Testament. A college student writes, "I am amazed at the tremendous variety of religious situations, feelings and ideas. By means of this great scope the Old Testament can appeal to many people and to the same person in many different moods and stages. Ultimately in religion each one must select what meets his needs, but the advantage here is that there is so much to choose from." Still, whatever one "chooses" carries one to the same Lord, if the assertions made above about an Old Testament religion are true.

Some students of the Old Testament have over-emphasized the differences between the prophets and the priests at the expense of an appreciation of their fundamental agreements. The prophets have blame for only unworthy priests and only for a ceremonial system that has lost its touch with spiritual and ethical realities, not for ritual as such. The priestly writings contain no diatribes against the prophets, though a short-sighted individual like Amaziah may dismiss an Amos. That a compromise and a working agreement was possible between these two groups of leaders seems to be indicated in Deuteronomy and perhaps in Ezekiel and elsewhere.

The wise men, scribes and psalmists, the prophets and apocalyptists, the historical writers and compilers of codes have their own modes of approach to religion and of appeal to the Hebrew people, their own enthusiasms and chosen forms of expression, but one seldom gains an impression that they are conflicting with one another or disapproving of one another. This is not to assert that there are no decided and unfortunate differences of opinion, as between the Jews and Samaritans or between

the Pharisees and Sadducees. The tragic results of such rifts are seen in the formation of a rival sect and a long-continued feud in the first case and in devastating civil wars in the second. So the Old Testament shows both the possibility of diverse points of view being held without friction in a group united at heart and shows that failure to achieve such unity is catastrophic. The conclusion is obvious that again the Old Testament is relevant to an age that is appreciating ecumenicity as never before and is turning toward religious unity with zeal and determination, yet is encountering problems of diversity in ideas and customs between the denominations and between groups within each denomination that seem at times well-nigh insurmountable.

In conclusion we may let college students of many differing back-grounds say briefly in their own way how a study of the Old Testament has proved relevant to them personally.

"One who studies the Old Testament becomes spiritually mature."

"The Old Testament is intellectually challenging to a student of today and emotionally satisfying."

"It makes me aware of God, builds up in me a power of faith and trust."

"It has given me a new broad-minded conception and appreciation of the Jewish race."

"It has correlated many of my separate ideas of life into a religious whole, with God as the ultimate inspiration for better thoughts and deeds, where formerly I had no guide but other people."

"I have found great re-assurance here, for the Bible people kept their faith through so much struggle and trouble. Its perpetuation is a triumph. We can hope to maintain ours through similar upheavals."

"I have gained a liking to think about such subjects as God, the problem of suffering and revelation."

"I have gained peace and comfort from an intelligent faith based on the Bible, a faith which is aware of problems and yet is steadfast."

"I have come to a realization of a great religious heritage and of our own lacks and weaknesses today in spiritual power, insight and courage."

If the Old Testament has this kind of meaning to the younger generation we may feel assured that it can still "speak to the heart" of the world.

The Message of the Eighth-Century Prophets for Today

OID R. SELLERS

RECENTLY A PROMINENT church worker told a large audience that the most important psychological work she had read in 1942 was the book of Isaiah. This book is important as a psychological document. It is significant, too, for economics, politics, sociology, and religion. So are the books of the others whom we call the Eighth-Century Prophets: Amos, Hosea, and Micah. These men spoke messages to their own people in their own time; but they were so inspired that what they had to say has carried meaning for people of future generations, so that in this day of war, tumult, social upheaval, and wistful wondering about the future, immediate and remote, we find in their words many passages that seem almost intended for us.

While we speak of the four as the Eighth-Century Prophets, we should remember that they were a very small minority, saying things that were not palatable to the ruling classes and not always readily understood by the general public. The great bulk of the prophets of their day were the guild members in good standing, who made the people to err, who cried "Peace," and who performed only for one who would put something into their mouths (Mic. 3:5). Though numbered well into the hundreds and considered professionally successful, they said nothing worth recording for posterity. The four whose utterances have come down to us were those who told the unpleasant truth without regard for their own comfort or safety. They were given courage and divine insight to make utterances which were important to those who heard them and which later were found to be sufficiently significant to be copied and recopied and eventually embodied in Holy Scripture.

That these Prophets have been neglected by American church people in the past two decades we all know. Part of this neglect has been due to a general falling off in Bible reading on the part of people in the upper financial brackets, who have discontinued the family altar and become casual in church going. Part has been due to the emphasis placed on such books as Daniel and Revelation by some of the groups which call themselves Bible Christians but are uninterested in movements for social betterment in the present day, feeling that such movements only postpone the second coming of our Lord. Part has been due to some teachers of religion and ministers of the Gospel who have felt that Old Testament history and exegesis were unimportant in connection with crusades for better race relations, the promotion of peace, the improvement of the economic order, and the development of the ecumenical church. Many of this last group, however, lately have made a rediscovery of the Prophets. It is not uncommon to find a man who until a few years ago rarely referred to the Old Testament now preaching frequently from a text in the Prophets and advising his students and fellow ministers to do likewise.

We may as well admit, too, that those of us who teach the Old Testament have our share of the blame. We have been so much concerned with *Bestimmung, Zeit und Ort*, with pointing out spurious passages, and with textual emendations that frequently we have confused our students with minutiae and given them the impression that the Prophets, while affording an interesting field for speculation, had little bearing on the twentieth century. Necessarily, if we understand the Prophets, we

must understand something of the times in which they lived; but if we read their books for their messages rather than for their dissection we find in them teaching that is good for all ages and some teaching that is strikingly pertinent today.

The Prophets pointed out that privilege carries with it a responsibility; divine favor makes defection from right conduct doubly reprehensible.

You only have I known of all the families of the earth;

Therefore will I punish you for all your iniquities (Am. 3:2).

Actually the idea that the chosen people merit any peculiar claim to God's favor is fallacious. All peoples are under his laws and he grants no immunities on account of race or nationality. He shows his kindness to all.

Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me,

O children of Israel? saith the Lord.

Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt

And the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir? (Am. 9:7)

In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria,

A blessing in the midst of the land,

When the Lord of hosts will bless, saying, "Blessed be Egypt my people and Assyria the work of my hands

And Israel mine inheritance"

(Is. 19:24-25).

And in this mountain shall the Lord of hosts

Make unto all people a feast of fat things, A feast of wine on the lees, of fat things full of marrow . . .

And he will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering cast over all people

And the veil that is spread over all nations (Is. 25:6-7).

A passage which gives the opposite view, looking exultingly to the time when Israel

would possess foreigners for servants and handmaids (Is. 14:1-2) is clearly a post-Exilic prose insertion, not by Isaiah. The Eighth-Century Prophets had no doctrine of a master race. To them the ideal was to be realized when all nations on an equal footing would worship the true God.

A tendency on the part of many churches today to overemphasize ritual, to discourage enthusiasm, and to put trust in forms of worship would find scant support from our Prophets. Yahweh was not interested in elaborate worship programs; in fact, if worship were not accompanied by right conduct it was worse than nothing.

Come to Bethel and transgress; at Gilgal multiply transgression;

And bring your sacrifices every morning, your tithes after three years (Am. 4:4).

I hate, I despise your feast days

And I will not smell in your festal assemblies.

Though ye offer me burnt offerings, your gifts I will not accept;

Neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts.

Take away from me the noise of thy songs

And the melody of thy harps. I will not hear (Am. 5:21-23).

For *hesed* I desired and not sacrifice

And knowledge of God more than burnt offerings (Hos. 6:6).

Wherewith shall I come before the Lord?

Shall I bow myself before the high God?

Shall I come before him with burnt offerings,

With calves a year old?

Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams,

With ten thousand rivers of oil?

Shall I give my first-born for my transgression,

The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? (Mic. 6:6-7).

To what purpose to me is the multitude of your sacrifices? saith the Lord.

I am full of burnt offerings of rams and
fat of fed beasts,
And I delight not in the blood of bullocks
or of lambs or of he-goats . . .
Your new moons and your appointed
feasts my soul hateth.
They have become a trouble unto me;
I am weary of bearing them

(Is. 1:11-14).

(This was not pagan idolatry, which all the pre-Exilic Prophets roundly denounced in many passages. Rather it was the established ritual fostered by the priests of Yahweh. The Prophets did not necessarily oppose all kinds of formal worship at this time; but they spoke in no uncertain terms against the popular conception that public prayer, sacrifices, and contributions were in any way efficacious in covering up sin. And they implied that the more elaborate ceremonies conducted by the religious leaders were an offense against God.)

About the laissez-faire attitude on the part of those in responsible positions, an attitude which we now know is in large measure responsible for the turmoil in the world today, the Eighth-Century Prophets had their say. Then, as now, those who had attained the high places, whose duty it was to see to the religious, moral, and political welfare of their people, had been content to let things drift, with wishful thinking that prosperity was permanent. And those who tried to arouse the population with warning of impending disaster were corrupted or discredited and denounced.

And I raised up of your sons for prophets
and of your young men for Nazirites . . .
But ye made the Nazirites drink wine
And commanded the prophets, saying,
"Prophesy not" (Am. 2:12).

They hate him that rebuketh in the gate
And him that speaketh uprightly they
abhor (Am. 5:10).

Woe to them that are at ease in Zion and

trust in the mount of Samaria,
Notable as the chief of the nations, to
whom the house of Israel came . . .
Ye that put far away the evil day and
cause the seat of violence to come near,
That lie on beds of ivory and stretch upon
their couches.
That eat the lambs from the flock and
calves from the midst of the stall,
That chant to the sound of the harp, like
David make for themselves instruments
of song,
That drink wine in bowls and with the
choicest of oils anoint themselves,
But are not grieved for the affliction of
Joseph (Am. 6:1-6).

Thus saith the Lord concerning the
prophets that make my people err,
That bite with their teeth and cry
"Peace."

And he that putteth not into their mouth,
they even prepare war against him
(Mic. 3:5).

Her heads judge for reward and the
priests teach for hire
And her prophets divine for money. Yet
on the Lord they lean, saying,
"Is not the Lord among us? No evil
can come upon us" (Mic. 3:11).

Though the wicked be favored, he will
not learn righteousness.
In the land of uprightness will he deal
unjustly and not behold the majesty
of the Lord (Is. 26:10).

For this is a rebellious people, lying
children, children that will not hear the
Lord,
Who say to the seers, "See not," and to
the prophets, "Prophesy not unto us
right things;
Speak unto us smooth things; see deceits"
(Is. 30:9-10).

It is easy for us to believe when we are
living in comfort that this is the best of all
possible worlds. We dislike hearing about

social or political conditions that threaten upheaval. When we are smugly satisfied the Prophets of the Eighth-Century give us warning.

Another message that these Prophets bring to us is one of hope. No doubt the books as we have them are touched up by optimistic editorial additions, put in by men inspired with the developed messianic expectation of Exilic and post-Exilic times; but it is too drastic to take away from the earlier Prophets every passage that shows faith in a happy future for humanity. By most scholars Amos is considered entirely as a foreteller of punishment and disaster. The last verses of his book (9:11-15), showing bland belief in a glorious future, clearly are a contradiction of what immediately precedes. Verse 10 closes a prediction of calamity upon the short-sighted optimists of the laissez-faire school: "All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword, who say, 'The evil shall not prevent or overtake us.'" Probably Amos had some hope that Israel would repent or he would not have taken the trouble to utter his brief prophecies; but this hope was not realized in his experience and, in view of his reception by Amaziah at Bethel, it is easy to believe that after uttering his oracles of doom he returned to Tekoa.

With Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah the case is different. For one thing, they were preaching on their home grounds and were anxious to have joy and righteousness come to their own people. They hoped that their preaching would have some effect, they thought that at least a remnant of their kinsmen would be faithful to God, and they had faith that ultimately salvation would come through this remnant.

In recent years so much attention has been given to the love life of Hosea that the essential messages of his book have been overshadowed. And one of his principal tenets was the possibility of happiness through repentance and righteousness. He represents Yahweh as pleading for the re-

turn of rebellious and unfaithful Israel, promising a glad reception to a repentant people.

Come and let us return to the Lord;
For he has torn, but he will heal us.
He has smitten, but he will bind us up
(Hos. 6:1).

The book of Micah, too, while it denounces the idolatry and cruelty of the Israelites and predicts the doom of Samaria and the southern cities, presents a picture of the messianic age. Yahweh will be triumphant and all peoples will worship him.

But it will come to pass in the latter days
that the mountain of the house of the
Lord will be established in the top of
the mountains,
And it will be exalted above the hills,
and peoples will flow unto it
(Mic. 4:1).

Isaiah also pronounced both doom and salvation. Though the genuineness of nearly every verse in his book has been questioned at some time by some scholar, there is now fairly general agreement that a number of the hopeful passages are the work of Isaiah. One of these is the messianic picture of ch. 11:1-9, containing the description of the "shoot out of the stock of Jesse."

And righteousness shall be the girdle of
his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of
his reins.

And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb
and the leopard shall lie down with the
kid

And the calf and the young lion and the
fatling together, and a little child shall
lead them . . .

They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my
holy mountain;

For the earth shall be full of the knowl-
edge of the Lord as the waters cover
the sea (Is. 11:5-9).

While this hope never has been realized, the ideal that it holds up has inspired count-

less people through the centuries. So it is helpful to us to believe that in due time we may have righteousness and justice on earth.

One of the most pertinent messages that the Eighth-Century Prophets have for us today deals with peace. The Prophets, like the great majority of human beings today, wanted peace. They denounced the cruelties of the war makers and called for divine punishment on those who mistreated subject nations. In the happy times for which they longed war would have no part. Probably the most often quoted picture of a joyous peace is the passage found in the books of two of our Prophets:

And he shall judge among the nations and shall rebuke many people;

And they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks.

Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more (Is. 2:4; Mic. 4:3).

We are not certain that "plowshares" and "pruning hooks" are correct translations of the Hebrew words; but certainly the desired happy time will come when the implements of war can be turned into implements of agriculture. The human longing is for the day when the nations learn war no more.

It is worth noting, however, that the Prophets did not preach peace at any price. Isaiah was against alliances which involved Ahaz and Hezekiah in international conflict; but when Sennacherib besieged Jerusalem and the inhabitants of the city were on the verge of starvation Isaiah made no suggestion of non-resistance (Is. 37:5-7).

In Micah's picture of the ideal peace there is added a significant statement:

But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree
And none shall make them afraid

(Mic. 4:4).

To the Eighth-Century Prophet social justice was a prime concern. Amos, the first of them, thundered against injustice, violence, the oppression of the poor; Hosea protested about robbery and treacherous dealing; Isaiah pleaded for the unfortunate. In the teaching of these Prophets we see the doctrine of the right of the individual. What would be the point of beating swords and spears into plow-shares and pruning hooks if a man had no field to plow and no tree to prune? He longs for peace; but to enjoy peace he must have freedom from fear; he must have a vine and a fig tree under which he may sit.

The Message of the Seventh-Century Prophets for Today

J. PHILIP HYATT

The last half of the seventh century and first quarter of the sixth were a period of very important crisis and transition for the ancient Near East. During this time the Assyrian Empire, which had ruled Western Asia since the middle of the eighth century, declined and finally fell. Its end came virtually in 612 with the capture of Nineveh by an alliance of Chaldeans and Medes. Egypt made a renewed bid for world power during this time, under the Pharaohs of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, but the Battle of Carchemish in 605 showed that Babylonia rather than Egypt was to be the ruling power in the future.

The Judaeen nation in Palestine, because of its geographical position and relative smallness and weakness, was caught in the turmoil of these events. Manasseh (692-639) succeeded in keeping peace by being subservient to Assyria, but the religious leaders considered him the worst of all possible kings. Josiah's reforms of 621 constituted not only a reform to centralize religion in Jerusalem, but also a successful declaration of independence from Assyria. The reforming king met his death, however, at the hands of the Egyptian king, Necho, in 608, probably because he refused to swear allegiance to Egypt. In subsequent years the loyalty of Judaeen kings vacillated, as of old, between the Mesopotamian power, Babylonia, and the power of the Nile, Egypt. The final result was the destruction of Jerusalem, loss of political independence, and the Babylonian Exile.

It is hardly necessary to argue in detail the belief that we are ourselves living in a period of crisis and transition, not unlike the one under discussion. The chief difference is perhaps that with us transitions occur

more rapidly, and our crisis is deeper and more widespread. We are now so much in the midst of our crisis that we cannot yet discern the final result, but we can take courage from the fact that, as P. A. Sorokin, the Harvard sociologist has pointed out, "the principal steps in the progress of mankind toward a spiritual religion and a noble code of ethics have been taken primarily under the impact of great catastrophes."¹ The period we are considering is an excellent illustration of that fact.

The outstanding Hebrew prophet of this age, and the only one of whom we have much information, is Jeremiah of Anathoth. His career spanned the most difficult of these years (approximately 615 to 585),² and he played an active rôle in national and international affairs, exerting some influence upon their direction. It is fortunate that we know as much as we do about this man who, in many respects, was the greatest of all the Hebrew prophets, in character if not in the originality of his thought. It is no exaggeration to say that we have more reliable information concerning the life of Jeremiah than concerning any other Old Testament figure. Perhaps we are better acquainted with the "external" features of David's life, from the remarkably fine biographical materials preserved in the Books of Samuel, but we possess little insight into his "internal" life (since no Psalms can with certainty be assigned to him). But Jeremiah has left us a series of peculiarly intimate "Confessions" (11:18-23; 12:1-6; 15:10-21; 17:9-10,14-18; 18:18-23; 20:7-12,14-18) which give deep insight into his inner nature. From his own words and from the extensive biographical information preserved in the Book of Jeremiah (which,

incidentally, was probably not written by Baruch), we can form a fairly clear and complete estimate of Jeremiah's character and achievements.³

The most important message for our day to be derived from Jeremiah is *the example of his own personal courage* in the face of innumerable dangers and strong opposition. Courage is indeed the chief feature of Jeremiah's character, and R. H. Pfeiffer is correct in asserting that "he was more like an oak than like the weeping willow of popular misconception."⁴ His courage reached its climax when, at the time the Chaldeans were actually besieging Jerusalem, he followed his convictions and advised surrender rather than resistance. He claimed that the "way of life" was to desert to the enemy, while the "way of death" was to remain in the city and resist (21:8-10). It is not surprising that the prophet was placed under arrest and imprisoned, but even in prison he did not compromise one inch. This was not the only evidence of courage in his life, for he exhibited this quality throughout his long career in preaching the Word of Yahweh and opposing all classes of popular leaders—priests, prophets, and princes.

Jeremiah's courage is all the more remarkable when we reflect that he was by nature a man of varying moods, and acquired his courage only by great effort and devotion. By nature he was timid and shy, sensitive, reticent, and introspective. There were occasions in his life when he reached the depths of despondency and felt himself completely isolated from his fellowmen, and gave vent to his mood by cursing the day of his birth (15:10, 17f.; 20:14-18). Yet, there were other times when he reached heights of exaltation and considered the words of Yahweh a source of great delight and joy (15:16), and drew such strength and courage from God that he could picture himself as "a fortified city and pillar of iron and wall of bronze against the whole land" (1:18; cf. 15:20; 20:11). There were times when he questioned God's jus-

tice (12:1ff.) and could even speak of God's "duping" him (20:7), but he was always overcome in the end by a divine compulsion to prophecy which he could not resist (20:9).

Because of his sensitive nature, there were occasions when Jeremiah wept, but he was no more simply a "weeping prophet" than was Jesus of Nazareth. Both of them could and did weep, but not for personal sorrows and misfortune; they wept over the misfortunes and sins of the people to whom they preached. For the prophet of Anathoth, weeping was an expression of his complete identification of himself with the sorrows of his people, so that he could say "For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt" (8:21). It was never an indication of personal weakness.

The reason for Jeremiah's strong courage leads us to the second point in his message for our time: his *sound faith in God*. Jeremiah was verily a "God-intoxicated man," to a greater degree than any of the other prophets, although every true prophet was to some degree. It was this which gave him his optimism. For Jeremiah was not a pessimist, as he is often called, but a realist, or more accurately—an optimist whose optimism was based upon faith that Yahweh rules not only past and present but also the future.

Jeremiah's idea of God is almost the highest in the Old Testament, falling only a little short of that of the Second Isaiah. There should be no doubt that he was a monotheist. Not only did he speak of deities other than Yahweh as "no-gods that profit not" (2:11) and constantly oppose idolatry and Baalistic worship, but he thought of Yahweh as controlling the nations of the world. In a very bold passage (which probably comes to us through the hand of a later editor), he speaks of Yahweh as giving various nations and even the beasts of the field into the power of Nebuchadnezzar "my servant" (27:6). This God of the nations was also the cosmic God, for

Jeremiah occasionally speaks in terms that approach our modern concept of the "natural order" under God's decree (5:22; 8:7; on the other hand, 10:12ff. is probably not genuine). But to Jeremiah Yahweh was not wholly a remote and transcendent deity; He was both "a God afar off" and "a God at hand" (23:23). The great vitality of his thought of Yahweh is expressed by the figure of "the fountain of living waters" (2:13). Yahweh is a very personal, intimate deity who tries the heart of man (17:10) and stands ready to forgive him who repents of sin and turns to Him (3:23-4:4; it is possible that Jeremiah later withdrew the possibility of forgiveness, cf. 13:23). Jeremiah was probably the first to employ the figure of the potter to describe God (ch. 18). He thus used what Skinner has called "the fitting emblem for the highest conception man can form of the divine sovereignty in relation to human freedom."⁵

Jeremiah's own relationship to God was a very close, personal one. Indeed we may say that the greatest contribution of Jeremiah was *the idea and ideal of personal religion*. This contribution, however, was not so much explicitly formulated and stated as it was implicit in his own experiences and his teaching on various topics.

Jeremiah was not as profound and original a thinker as Second Isaiah, and was not as brilliant a poet as Amos and Isaiah, but his experience with God was more profound and revealing, and the character he developed was stronger and to us more inspiring. His experience with God is most clearly shown in the inaugural vision of the first chapter and the "Confessions" contained in parts of chapters eleven to twenty (listed above). These have been often studied and analysed, and there is not space to discuss them fully here. It must suffice to point out that they reveal the deep conflict in the prophet's nature between the desire to follow his own inclinations and impulses, and the wish to obey God's commands. He always ended by doing the latter, but not

without hard struggle. In the profoundest passages of these Confessions he reaches the height of truest prayer—conversation with God. Throughout them runs trusting faith in God's providence, and high sincerity. The only jarring note we meet is the desire for vengeance upon personal enemies (e. g. 15:15; 17:18; 18:23). Some extenuation can be offered for these, but there is no need to deny their genuineness nor to tone them down. They must simply be accepted as a limitation in Jeremiah's religious outlook—a limitation doubtless shared by most people since his time.

One of the most important elements in Jeremiah's religious thought which implies personal religion is his insistence that true religion does not depend upon temple, holy land, or any other external object. One of his earliest messages was the Temple Sermon (chaps. 7, 26), the gist of which is that true religion can survive the destruction of the Jerusalem temple upon which the people of his day, following the Deuteronomic Reformation, laid great stress. Jeremiah not only believed that true religion could survive its destruction, but that true religion would demand its destruction unless there were moral reformation to accompany ritualistic performances. Then, in the famous letter to the Babylonian exiles (ch. 29, in part), he points out that Yahweh can be worshipped away from Palestine, even in Babylonia. He wished to counteract the strong tendency to hope for immediate return, and to promote the basic conviction that "Ye shall find me, when ye shall search for me with your whole heart" (vs. 13).

The emphasis of Jeremiah upon the importance of the "heart" is very significant for the development of personal religion. No prophet reflected as much on the central place which the "heart" plays in religion as Jeremiah, with the possible exception of Ezekiel. We have noted above that he thought of God as the one who "tries the heart" (17:10). He was comforted by the

fact that Yahweh knew his own inner nature, when he was misunderstood by other men; and also, he was anxious to maintain his own integrity in the presence of such a God. Jeremiah emphasized also the centrality of the "heart" in his ideas of sin and repentance. It has frequently been noted that Jeremiah does not inveigh as heavily as did earlier prophets against social injustices, although he did so on occasion (e. g. 5:1-9, 20-30). He preached more violently against what may be called more personal sins: untruthfulness, sexual profligacy, religious disloyalty, and the like. He uses a very revealing phrase to show the source of sin: it comes from "obduracy of the evil heart" (3:17; 7:24; 9:14; 11:8; 13:10; 16:12; 18:12; 23:17; some of these are secondary, but the idea is Jeremianic). Because of his profound view of the nature of sin, he has a profound view of repentance. He expresses it best in 4:3,4, in phrases borrowed partly from Hosea:

"Break up your fallow ground, and sow not among thorns;
Circumcise yourselves to Yahweh, and take away the foreskins of your heart."

Repentance was not a mere external form, but a deep inner change of heart. One reason for this prophet's opposition to the Deuteronomic reforms was his feeling that they encouraged people to trust in external rather than internal change.⁶

The climax of Jeremiah's thought upon personal religion is reached in the great New Covenant passage, 31:31-34. Here it is to be noted that the New Covenant is with the "house of Israel" and the "house of Judah" (vs. 31). Jeremiah retains the sense of social solidarity prevalent in his age, but the ideas implicit in the doctrine of the New Covenant could not but eventually break through this sense of community solidarity and become the Magna Charta of personal religion. Also, it should be noted that the New Covenant does not require a

new Torah or law, but rather a new knowledge of the old law and a new inspiration and power for its fulfilment. Incidentally, the New Covenant passage has been widely discussed among scholars, and some have denied its genuineness. There are reasons for suspecting that it may not be from Jeremiah in the form in which we now have it, but the idea almost certainly goes back to him. It is perhaps a case of "the hands of Esau" but "the voice of Jacob." The idea of the New Covenant is necessary to the completion of this prophet's thought.⁷

We may summarize Jeremiah's message for today by saying that he offers a great example of personal courage, of the type widely needed today on all "fronts," military, political, religious, and all others; he gives an example of trust in a God who is trustworthy, in whose hands lies the future as well as the past; and he made great advance towards the ideal of personal religion, of the kind everyone needs in a time when all external and materialistic forms of security are rapidly shifting or being abolished. Jeremiah is an excellent prophet for a time such as this!

There were three other prophets in the seventh century, all of smaller stature than Jeremiah and represented by only short books: Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. We may dismiss the first of these with only a few words. The heart of Nahum's work (2:3-3:19) is a triumphal ode over the fall of Nineveh, written shortly before or after 612, and breathing the spirit of hatred of an enemy and delight in vengeance upon him. Nahum, although a superb poet, was not a prophet in the true sense. T. H. Robinson has suggested that we consider him one of the "false prophets" of the type condemned by Jeremiah and other true prophets, because he represented only a narrow nationalism unworthy of Yahwism.⁸ Robinson says, further, that his oracles "show us one at least of the dangers from which the world has been delivered." We should rather say, one of the dangers from

which the world, in the light of the Christian revelation, should be delivered!

Zephaniah stands in the great prophetic tradition, but he offers little or nothing that is original. The historical background of his brief book is apparently the period just before the Deuteronomic reforms (621). He condemns the various social wrongs and corrupt religious practices of his day in the manner of Amos and Isaiah. He was as bold and courageous as they, but his message is mainly negative and offers little that cannot be found in earlier prophets. He does, however, admirably supplement and confirm the condemnation of social injustice made by Jeremiah at a slightly later date.

The greatest of these minor seventh-century prophets is Habakkuk. His date is probably near 600, since he mentions the Chaldeans in 1:6. However, this is uncertain, and both the historical background and text of this short book offer many puzzles. It is not impossible that it is really a product of the early Hellenistic period, as Duhm, Torrey and a few others maintain.⁹

The importance of Habakkuk rests primarily in the problem he raises, which is the problem of theodicy: how can a God who is just and righteous permit injustice and evil to run rampant in His world? Specifically, how can Yahweh permit the wicked Chaldeans to oppress the Hebrews? The answer he gives to this question is less clear than his framing of the problem. He seems to say that in Yahweh's own time the wicked will be punished, and meantime "the righteous shall live by his fidelity" (2:4). This last statement, which became so significant for New Testament writers and Martin Luther, certainly did not mean originally what it was eventually made to mean. Habakkuk apparently meant that the righteous man lives by and finds reward in his own

faithfulness to Yahweh, and that he may patiently await the ultimate punishment of the wicked. The problem here posed was treated at greater length by other Old Testament writers, but Habakkuk has the merit of being one of the first to raise it in clear form. It still exists to perplex the mind of the theist, but Habakkuk gave one of the classic answers which still has value. His answer is very pertinent to our modern situation, and will reward careful consideration.

NOTES

1. *Man and Society in Calamity*, (N. Y. 1942) p. 226.
2. For the historical background of Jeremiah's career, cf. *Jour. Bib. Lit.* LIX (1940) pp. 499-513 and *Crozer Quarterly* XX (1943) pp. 52-58.
3. The difficult problem of the composition of the Book of Jeremiah has not yet been satisfactorily settled, but valuable suggestions have recently been made by H. G. May in *Jour. Bib. Lit.* LXI (1942) pp. 139-155 and this *Journal* X (1942) pp. 195-201. May's approach and method seem to me sound, but it is probable that he attributes too much material to the "Biographer." The book probably had several editors. One of the most difficult problems in the study of Jeremiah is to determine when the "Biographer" or other editors adequately represent Jeremiah's own thought, and when not.
4. *Introduction to the Old Testament* (N. Y. 1941) p. 494.
5. *Prophecy and Religion* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 164.
6. Cf. *Jour. of Near Eastern Studies* I (1942) pp. 156-173.
7. Cf. *Jour. Bib. Lit.* LX (1941) pp. 381-396.
8. *Prophecy and the Prophets* (London, 1923) p. 114.
9. Cf. Torrey in *Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut* (N. Y., 1935) pp. 565-582. According to this view, in 1:6 the word *Kittim* ("Greeks"; cf. I Macc. 1:1) originally stood where we now read *Kasdim* ("Chaldeans"); and in 2:5 *Yavan* ("Greece") where we now read *Yayin* ("wine").

The Message of the Exilic Prophets for Our Day

WILLIAM A. IRWIN

ANY DISCUSSION of the exilic prophets entails at the outset a critical problem, for who were they? Obviously this is no place to revive the arguments that have been hotly debated for more than a dozen years. Instead a certain amount of dogmatism is dictated by the nature of our task. One must assume the position that commends itself to his best judgment and then proceed. For our purposes the exilic prophets are primarily Ezekiel and Second Isaiah. Even so, the end of difficulties is not yet, for it is now freely admitted that the Book of Ezekiel is composite; but no one has secured any general agreement as to its analysis. Equally the limits of Second Isaiah are a contentious issue. We shall attempt, then, to confine our attention to such passages as seem generally accepted. In case this self-imposed limitation is exceeded, then it is hoped that at least the selection will not transgress the recognized content of thought of either prophet.

It is now rather generally recognized that, contrary to common tradition, Ezekiel began his work in Jerusalem. The date of this beginning is not certain, but at least he worked there through much of the reign of Zedekiah; and a large portion of his more familiar oracles were delivered there. It will thus be apparent not alone that his work overlapped in time that of Jeremiah, but also that he was with him in the narrow confines of Jerusalem through those tragic years. The two must have known each other well. Indeed the Book of Ezekiel bears many marks of the younger prophet's indebtedness to his famous contemporary.

But these were not the sole religious leadership of Jerusalem and Judah. The books of both prophets bear testimony to the

numbers of prophets and other self-appointed guides who made their bid for the allegiance of the people. The ideas they advocated seem to have covered much of the range of religious thinking, from highly respectable views to the other extreme where religious beliefs become mere intellectual freaks. The little known Uriah of Kiriath-jearim (Jeremiah 26:20 ff.) was apparently a man in the true prophetic succession. And even Hananiah (Jeremiah 28), though lacking the political realism that was so notable a feature of Isaiah and Jeremiah, had a relevant and powerful message for his time. Yet over against most of the group stand Jeremiah and Ezekiel in conscious conflict with their views, emphasizing rather the grim political realities of the troubled age and insisting that religious thinking must take full account of them.

At this point we come first to a close relationship with our own days. Religious people cannot soon forget—they must long remember—the chaos that to our shame characterized the religious and intellectual leadership of this country through the years immediately preceding the attack on Pearl Harbor. When ostensible religious leaders were ignoring all moral responsibility in the most terrible crisis in history and abandoning themselves to an uncriticized policy of "Keep America out of War"; when prominent theologians were unblushingly advocating the crass and selfish paganism that this land must preserve the blessing of culture while all the rest of the world literally went to the devil; when organizations of Christian ministers gave themselves earnestly to the purpose of keeping their land separate from the mortal agony of a world drenched in blood, though easing their consciences with a few shiploads of food and some Red

Cross supplies the giving of which cost no privation—then we may indeed feel that history has already mocked with bitter cynicism the prophetic vision of contemporary America. Of just such blind and pagan religious leaders Ezekiel wrote:

Woe to those who prophesy out of their own heart.

As jackals among ruins
are your prophets, Israel.

They did not stand in the breaches on the
Day of the Lord
nor build a wall for the House of Israel.

Ezekiel's work continued through the doleful years of Zedekiah's reign. He saw the first exiles leave for Babylonia in 597. He witnessed the pretence of reconstruction in the succeeding period. He watched while the blind chauvinism of the upstart leaders asserted itself in policies that carried a baleful threat for the future. His protests fell on deaf ears; the politicians went their stupid way. And so matters grew steadily worse. The period is highly reminiscent of the 1920's and 1930's. The selfishness, within and without the League of Nations that damned it from its birth; the fiasco of opposition to the Ethiopian aggression; the iniquity of neutrality in the Spanish civil war for which we are now paying and will yet pay more heavily; the appeasement policies in Europe; the Munich episode, the memory of which is still enough to stir feelings of shame; and, lest some may pharisaically blame European politicians alone for the debacle, the remoteness of American conduct which, after contributing largely to the predicament of the rest of the world, refused to touch its political burden with so much as one little finger—all these are but the politics of Judah through Zedekiah's reign on a grander and hence more disastrous scale. The alleged "peace for our generation" lasted, it will be recalled, just a few days less than one year. In Judah a similar denouement was witnessed. Zede-

kiah's course of action culminated in open revolt. And soon the Babylonian troops invested Jerusalem. A year and a half later the city lay in ruins, and national life was a thing of the past. We must temper our condemnation of the Jews' policies with realization that they were fighting for liberty. They had suffered under more than a century of oppressive tyranny; and now that they had with the decline of Assyria tasted for a brief space the joys of national independence it is not remarkable that they resented the imposition of a new imperial yoke. And surely a bold venture for home and freedom is the theme which history glorifies on many a page. Nor may we condemn them for lack of realism in failing to recognize that revolt was foredoomed to disaster. For with the magnificent resistance of Greece and Yugoslavia still fresh in mind, and the debt that we owe them for a suicidal stand which disrupted Nazi plans for that crucial year, we shall go cautiously in arguing that hopeless resistance to oppression is unmitigated folly. Perhaps we must rather realize that such idealism, if it is to be other than madness, must always consist of the illogical blend of rashness and calculating caution. The people of Judah, just as their ancestors a hundred years before, overestimated the power of Egypt. They believed its reviving might could withstand the force of Nebuchadrezzar's veterans, but found, too late, that Egypt was still a broken reed on which if a man should lean it would go into his hand.

However this may be, one of the most moving passages in the Old Testament is the poem preserved, though in imperfect form, in Chapter 7 of our Book of Ezekiel. It is impressive for its literary vigor and reality, but much more because of the circumstances of its composition. It was written by the prophet a few days, at the most, before the collapse of the defence and the storm and sack of Jerusalem in that terrible day in 586. As a contemporary account by an eye-witness of the despair of the city,

now reduced to helplessness more by famine and disease than by enemy action, the poem still casts its gloomy spell over us. It reads like war-correspondents' reports from Norway in April of 1940, or from the Low Countries and France through the two following months.

It is not easy to maintain one's sense of ultimate reality through such days. We have learned the spiritual travail of a time when one's world falls to pieces about him; and it may be we have yet more of the same bitter experience in store. Ezekiel showed himself of the true company of the prophets that through those years he never faltered in his principles and convictions. It is a nice problem where such persistence deteriorates into mere stubbornness or unwillingness to admit oneself in the wrong. But Ezekiel's stand is vindicated in the attested truth of his utterances; his was the certainty of clear vision. At the very height of the crisis we find him asserting the supremacy of the purposes of God. He was of the goodly company of the heroes of faith who endure as seeing Him who is invisible. Judah had done and persisted in wrong; the righteousness of God was revealed from Heaven against all such. No lesser loyalties, no commiseration for wretched people who had followed bad leadership, no wishful thinking for the sparing of his own nation might obscure the fact that in a moral world wrong cannot go unpunished. The selfishness of the inter-bellum period, in which we, to say the least, were equally guilty with the peoples of the Old World, has now brought its own nemesis.

The greatness of Ezekiel in Jewish life, as attested by the large use made of his book, is probably to be understood on the grounds of his common suffering with his people. He, too, it would seem, was numbered among the miserable company of captives destined for exile; he, too, learned of the horrors and hardships of the merciless journey to far Babylonia; he, like the oth-

ers, was compelled to begin life anew in a foreign land after the loss of all. But, indeed, this experience was symbolic of his personal character; for he was, in a way transcending the other prophets, a man of the people. To him they consorted with questions and problems. He was stern in his denunciation of their misdeeds; but still they came. They found in him some basic understanding, some common human feeling and experience. He was their critic and guide, but he was one of them, never separating himself from their needs and sufferings by an artificial gulf of privilege or dignity. Today this menace hangs over our religious leadership. The special privilege accorded theological students in the military draft implies that they are of a class apart. The situation is realized by many thoughtful students themselves who feel that they can expect little share in the world of after-the-war if they fail to take their part in the toil and agony of the present. True, this does not necessarily entail enlistment in the fighting forces, though we must accord all honor to those who so interpret the call of duty, for we will recall that Ezekiel bore his part in the anguish of his time by ministering to the religious needs of his people. But for those who do not take the former course, and for those who, by reason of age or any other cause, cannot participate in the acute tasks of our time, the question is insistent: How is one to make sure that he enters into the suffering of our day, rather than play the role of an interested but detached spectator?

In another regard this danger haunts our religious activity; that is, in the relations of the churches with the world of labor. There is far too much truth in the charge that the typical church is a comfortable middle-class club. In only a meager minority of city churches, to say the least, would the laboring man feel at home; and in many he would realize that he was an intruder. The problem of healing this alienation is one of the

most pressing religious needs of our society.

Ezekiel and Second Isaiah are one in their message of hope. Both foresaw a restoration, and both sought to prepare their compatriots for the occasion and for its responsibilities. They differ in their circumstances and in the form, perhaps in the fervor, of their predictions. Ezekiel's ministry of hope began somewhat early. Indeed there is ground for believing that, like Jeremiah, he encouraged the exiles in Babylonia during the years before the second complement of homeless Jews came there. It is a striking tribute to the toughness of a man's thinking that he can maintain hope and some basis of good cheer through times as gloomy as the first and second decades of the fifth century were for the Jews, or as ours are for us.

Various conditions can produce this. It may be due to unrealistic ignorance, to callousness, to an irrepressibly sanguine disposition. But both the men with whom we are now concerned attained their hope through deep religious conviction. Indeed, in this they shared the faith of all Israel's great thinkers, for one of the notable themes running through the Old Testament is that of the supremacy of God in human affairs. History is not a chaos of blind forces, but the working out of the conscious purposes of a God of goodness. It is a faith which many today are tempted to abandon as they see their fond hopes of a little ago mocked by the horrors of a time such as has not been. Not infrequently we hear it claimed that the satanic nature of man as evident in current history refutes completely any belief in human progress. But not such was the conviction of Ezekiel. His tragedy was on a smaller scale than ours, but for him, too, the world was going to pieces. Yet at the very height of the disaster he asserted his unshaken belief that it but manifested the power and purposes of a moral God who was bringing to pass better things.

The witness of Second Isaiah to this same

thought came at a later stage in the process. The dawn was breaking, a glorious day of liberty and renewal. How his words still stir a responsive sense of the long dark night of oppression that now, incredible as it seemed, was giving way to the promise of freedom and joy and hope!

Awake, awake, put on
thy strength, O Zion;
Put on thy beautiful garments,
O Jerusalem, the holy city!
For no more shall come into thee
the uncircumcised and the unclean.
Shake thyself from the dust, arise,
O captive Jerusalem.
Loose thyself from the bonds of thy neck
O captive daughter of Zion!

The words remind us of the liberation within our own times of Poland and Czechoslovakia (alas so soon again eclipsed). But how meaningful they are for this very day, it is unnecessary to argue. What hosts of enslaved men and women throughout Europe are in just this same wistful expectation of Second Isaiah, looking eagerly for the dawn that has too long delayed. And we in this land are little less impatient for that day to break.

Yet Second Isaiah was no mere herald of good fortune. He was concerned with deeper things than assuring his people that Cyrus was to prove their deliverer. For him historical events were religious facts. The opening words in our collection of his poems, words that take one's breath with their potent meaning for this very day, climax their glowing promise with the assurance that his people had "received at the Lord's hand double for all their sin." He was concerned for a new world, not a liberation to ancient iniquities. Such is the thought that gives us pause in the midst of our most cheerful war-news; have we yet received of the Lord's hand double for all our sin? Have we learned the meaning

of this terrible experience? What a mood of shallow optimism is rampant among us! Still worse, how little of our characteristic bombast has yet been exorcised by the dangers and suffering of almost a year and a half of active hostilities! Actually there are people, with all the normal marks of sanity, who yet cherish the belief that the war will terminate this year 1943! And some still think that the might of America will sweep all before it in a glorious and speedy overthrow of all enemies. Such triviality in the face of the most terrible menace and inevitable suffering our land has ever known!

More than a year ago, when the struggle was for us still young, a well known writer, in answering a question as to our probable attitude at the close of the war, qualified his remark with the conditions: "If the war does not last too long—and, terrible as it may seem to say it, if the war lasts long enough. . . ."! Alas—may God forgive the thought—it has not yet lasted long enough. We have not learned. Still we have much to receive for our sin. Those were poignant words uttered by the great President in a situation very like our own:

"Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue . . . until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether!'"

Second Isaiah's thought reaches its climax in the famous "Servant" passages. It is no part of our present interest to debate the controversial question whether these are by the same author. The figure of the suffering servant is one of the richest treasures of our religious heritage. But there is no call at this time to discuss the role of suffering in human life; suffice it that such is

commonly disciplinary: we learn from our pain. And surely it must be so now. Unless the human race has lost all ability to direct its course in accord with obvious facts, there must emerge from this trial some better world. Surely bigotry, racialism, sectarian selfishness, local or group interest, the effort to exploit others, the trust in brute force, have all suffered heavy discount; and we shall in some blind, groping way recognize that the intangible and seeming weak and transient things of the spirit are the great things of human life. However, the point that calls for emphasis is that the Servant's suffering was not punitive but pedagogic. He was like one that is taught. His ear was awakened morning by morning like that of a pupil in a school. He was kept as a sharp sword, as a polished shaft in the hand of the Lord. It was too slight a thing, since he was the servant, that the Lord should merely raise up the tribes of Jacob and restore the survivors of Israel; so he made him a light to the nations that salvation should reach to the end of the earth.

In that concept is the death-sentence of all our national selfishness. Nations, not less than individuals, have a "social" responsibility; they, too, live not to themselves but as a part of the whole. In this area just as in respect to individuals it is true that he that saveth his life shall lose it. All nations are "the servants of the Lord," though some are more blind and deaf than others. The challenge of God, heard by the first Isaiah, holds here not less than in our personal life, "Whom shall I send and who will go for us?" Here is the meaning of Second Isaiah for the modern world, standing as we believe on the verge of a great deliverance: Each and every people must strive, nor fail nor be discouraged till it have set justice in the earth.

This sounds like impractical dreaming. It is, or is not, depending on how one understands it. Certainly such an ideal could run off into self-defeating religiosity. But equal-

ly it is not foreign to hard-headed practical work and planning. While we strive toward this end we must keep our feet solidly on the firm ground of actual conditions and forces of the whole complex of political, social, and economic life. One might easily caricature the ideal by suggesting that then we must, all of us, our whole hundred and thirty million, abandon our usual occupations, and become foreign missionaries or launch a gigantic scheme of giving away the national wealth. This is a *reductio ad absurdum* which deserves no further answer

than that the most effective help is that which assists those in need to help themselves. Let us recall that the ideal has already received expression by one of the great statesmen of our time. The President's "four freedoms," it will be recalled, are presented with his characteristic emphasis not merely as an enlargement of our democracy in this land, important as that is, but as the right of "every man in the world." President Roosevelt is a good expositor of Second Isaiah!

The Message of the Post-Exilic Prophets for Our Day

OTTO J. BAAB

THIS PAPER is based upon three assumptions, none of which can be examined here. It affirms, first, the recognition by both Jews and Christians of the authority of the Bible for religion. The second assumption affirms the continuity of the historical process. Today belongs to yesterday. The social struggle, war, economic conflict, and uneven progress which characterize history are experienced by all generations alike, for they express the same basic urges that determine human conduct. Our modern life, even our faith, is continuous with that of the Bible. Thirdly, history is an organic whole whose meaning is derived, not from the peculiarities of time-periods, but from the character of the God who is revealed by it. The God of the Biblical revelation is also the God at work in our world.

The significance of the teachings of the post-exilic prophets may become clearer if the character of their times is suggested. From 520 B. C. to 160 B. C. Jewish history was an almost continuous story of national defeat, wholesale deportation, abortive attempts at restoration and bitter suppression. While there are many gaps which the historian cannot fill in, enough is known to produce a dark and somber picture. Beginning with the Babylonian Exile and ending with the persecutions instigated by Antiochus Epiphanes, this period provided little reason for optimism. Confronted by the rich, powerful, pagan world, Judaism struggled for its very life, and in so doing experienced profound changes.

This prolonged period of strife and change witnessed some of the most remarkable and influential religious movements in all history. Formulations of religious thought that are now commonplace were

then created. To these we may now turn our attention. The Biblical passages used in the preparation of this paper should be identified first, however. The post-exilic date of each passage cannot be maintained dogmatically, but such dating is fairly well supported by the available evidence. We may list Is. 2:1-4; 9:1-7; 11:1-9; 24-27; 61-66; Joel; Jonah; Mi. 4-7 (with the possible exception of 6:6-8); Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Obviously this is not a complete list. No useful purpose will be served in establishing precise dates for the foregoing.

This literature drives home the truth that the worship of God is potentially universal, although it is historically Judaeo-Christian. All the nations in the days to come will stream to the mountain of the Lord, there to learn His ways and to walk in His paths. The peoples of the earth will gather to see the glory of God. He has compassion, even upon the people of Nineveh (Is. 2:3; Mi. 4:2; Is. 66:18; Jonah). Let it be noted that the nations will come to Zion! The Biblical religion emerging in Palestine and possessing a definite historical character, and not a syncretistic faith, will be the rallying-point for the nations. Thus we may speak of Christianity as a world religion.

Prominent in these writings is the idea of a world calamity, especially in the apocalyptic sections. Natural disasters, such as earthquakes and famines, as well as the evils produced by human sin and ignorance were alike ascribed by the Jews to God. But they and we find illumination and hope in the emphasis upon evil as the result of the violation of "the everlasting covenant" (Is. 24:5). With the prophet we may say in our present situation, "the

mirth of the world has gone . . . a curse has devoured the earth, and its inhabitants have paid the penalty." The scorched earth which lies in the wake of ravaging armies may today symbolize the penalty of violation of the covenant of justice and mercy. Here belongs the Biblical view that God works in history by means of the judgment which He visits upon men in the form of war and other evils. A locust plague is the "Day of the Lord" according to Joel. A battle in the Valley of Decision also reveals His righteous wrath. Thus "you shall know that I am the Lord your God" (Joel 2:27).

God's new order which will be established upon the earth will be both material and spiritual. It will be characterized by peace, justice, prosperity, co-operation among races and nations, and permanence. A Prince of Peace will accomplish this task. His rule will manifest justice and righteousness forever (Is. 9:6, 7). The Messianic age will witness the pacification even of the animals. Nature itself will be redeemed (Is. 11:6-8; Zech. 14:6-9). The outlines of an ideal kingdom are quite clearly indicated in these passages. A social order dedicated to a leader who is the agent of God in furthering the ways of peace still suggests a way of salvation for the world in its present predicament. The Messianic figure in Isaiah 9, 11 prefigures in spiritual character and ethical leadership Christ as the savior of the nations and races of earth. Doubtless the Jesus of history was deeply moved by the post-exilic definition of prophetic activity as presented in such passages as Isaiah 61.

In this new order some of the Biblical writers envision the gift of everlasting life vouchsafed by God to the faithful. Joy will abound when death is annihilated. "He will destroy death forever" (Is. 25:8). "Thy dead will live, their bodies will rise; those who dwell in the dust will awake, and will sing for joy . . . the earth will bring the Shades to birth" (Is. 26:19). Under the pressure of national and individual suffering

Jewish thought slowly came to the hope of immortality. In the second century this conception received rather casual expression in Isaiah 24-27 and in Daniel. Not until the intertestamental apocalypses were written did it receive the emphasis which its importance deserved. It belongs logically to the idea of the Kingdom under discussion, however. As a social concept involving ethical relationships it merits new attention in our day.

Out of the faith of these Jewish writers can be drawn a renewed confidence in the ultimate triumph of the right. They sometimes faced unendurable hardships and endured them. They moved upon the stage of history with their eyes fixed upon the invisible God in whom they trusted. Hence they knew that evil would one day be overthrown. Never for a moment did they believe that contemporary evil was evidence that God had been dethroned or had lost His power. They affirmed that "God is the ruler yet." They thought of God as powerful, just, redemptive, immanent and transcendent, merciful and forgiving. He reveals His will to men. He is the only hope of a nation; He is the glory of the city of Jerusalem (Zech. 2:15). He beseeches men to return to Him that they might do His will (Mal. 3:7). Historical Christianity and Judaism have centered their theologies in such a view of God. Deviations have only served to accentuate this central viewpoint. Its value for contemporary life hardly needs to be argued here.

Malachi deals with the requirements of the priestly office which seem relatively unimportant to those absorbed in living today. Yet the minor details referred to in the book, such as bringing imperfect gifts as sacrifices to God, should not obscure the significant truth which it tries to drive home—the requirement of honesty and utter devotion to God. "For the lips of a priest should preserve knowledge, and instruction should they seek at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts" (Mal. 2:7).

If this book accidentally called Malachi "My Messenger" was written by a priest, his religious outlook is decidedly interesting. We may note the emphasis upon universalism found in 1:11—"For from the rising of the sun, even to its setting, my name is great among the nations." There is also the allusion to God as father. "Have we not all one father? Did not one God create us?" (2:10).

Two other suggestions from Malachi might be mentioned here. One has to do with the problem of divorce. Those who marry "the daughter of an alien God" and secure a divorce from their first wives are condemned and criticized thoroughly. Divorce reveals faithlessness to one's comrade, the wife of one's youth. Further, in the instances alluded to, it produces ungodly children, to say nothing of its spiritual effect upon the one securing the divorce. This writer places the entire matter of divorce upon a spiritual plane where it rightly belongs. In a profound statement (3:7) the writer identifies the chief problem of the religious life. "Return unto me that I may return to you, says the Lord of hosts." Religion is a reciprocal relationship that involves the ethical association of God and man. This association must be entered into

freely and with a full recognition of the obligations involved.

Additional values in this literature may be indicated briefly, in conclusion. God's power is spiritually exerted. "'Not by might, but by my Spirit,' said the Lord" (Zech. 4:6). Sin is both ethical and religious. Correctness of ritual and fidelity to God are matched by righteousness in conduct and moral obedience to God. The church of God deserves the highest devotion of which man is capable. The temple must not have shoddy gifts or offerings halfheartedly given. It can function as the house of God only when men find Him there in devotion and in justice. A faith which lives is a faith which is ardently propagated. We may note the missionary interest in Jonah and in Is. 66:18. God restores the world's exiles. It is true that this refers in the Old Testament to the Jews of the Dispersion, but it posits a God whose great concern is to provide a home for the homeless, be they Jews or Gentiles. After the war and now the resettling of the world's refugees will be a most serious problem. Motivation for an attack upon this problem comes from the historical faith of those who are now tragically and brutally thrust from their homes, namely the Jews.

Problems in Teaching The Old Testament to College Students

ROLLAND EMERSON WOLFE

THE Old Testament has a perennial interest because the life it portrays consists of typical experiences of people in every age. It pictures "life as it is." Nevertheless, presentation of even such appealing material to students presents difficulties. Among the many problems in teaching the Old Testament, special attention should be given to consideration of aim, proportion, and interpretation.

The problem of aim is forced upon a teacher by the students. They frequently ask, especially before enrolling, or during the initial weeks of a semester, "Just what is the aim of this course?" or some similar question.

In a few colleges the Old Testament is taught primarily as a book of history and is found among the offerings of history departments. This is probably the least fruitful approach for it is doubtful if the college student is warranted in using his time to study the Bible as a book of history.

More often it is approached from the literary point of view and is studied as a classic of the English language. In those institutions the Old Testament is listed in the departments of English. Collateral reading consists of books dealing with the literary aspects of the Bible. When the Old Testament is made simply a course in English literature, two shortcomings usually result. On the one hand, the student tends to miss an adequate appreciation of this literature because of the chronological confusion resulting from inadequate attention to the historical framework in which respective portions of the Old Testament were produced. We ought to be concerned about this confusion in perspective which too close attention to the literary aim tends to produce. On

the other hand, teachers of Bible in English departments often feel they must ignore religious issues, or stress them only slightly, because of the motley make-up of the class, with Protestants, Catholics, Jews, atheists, etc., in attendance. To avoid offending students and undermining their distinctive faiths, it often is deemed wise to minimize the religious phases, especially avoiding controversial issues, and be content with considering the literary aspects. This procedure however tends to fail in utilizing adequately the resources for living which this literature contains. Although the literary treatment is more fruitful than the historical, it is far from adequate.

The third approach, used largely in denominational colleges, pursues Bible teaching with the religious aim. Although noble in purpose, there also are hazards in such teaching. With denominational systems, it tends in many cases to degenerate into indoctrination rather than maintaining itself on the level of guiding and inspiring life. Historical aspects usually are stressed adequately but the dogmatic hedge about it causes the Bible to be ignored as a book of literature. Those who regard it as a unique divine book fear, for that reason, to place the Bible on any basis which may seem to suggest the equality of other literature with it. Consequently the literary aspects usually are ignored or minimized.

One philosophically minded teacher records how at first he approached his teaching of the Bible solely from the philosophic point of view, using Biblical accounts as source material. He tells how he soon came to see that the narrowness of his purpose was causing him to ignore much that was of value. Consequently he felt forced to

add the religious, historical, and literary aims, developing his particular course into one with four chief goals.

Even these four do not exhaust the possibilities for there are also minor aims that call for attention here and there. Only in the case of a particular passage can the aims be clearly defined. For instance, in teaching the Song of Lamech the literary and sociological factors play a part but the ethical is foremost, with opportunity for the teacher to paint a contrast between the 70 and 7 times revenge of Lamech and the 70 times 7 forgiveness of Jesus. In Genesis 2 the aims are literary, anthropological, religious, and artistic. In Genesis 14 the historical consideration is dominant. In the accounts of Naboth's vineyard and David and Bathsheba, the ethical demands our attention. In the tenth plague, apparently rabies, and the milch kine and the ark, where bubonic plague appears, one purpose should be to contribute toward a history of medicine.

In ways such as these the specific objectives in each class period should be carefully defined. The variety in aim from day to day accentuates the diversity of subject matter and contributes toward maintaining student interest. It is as important to keep one's total aim general as it is to make the aim for the particular day specific. In its larger purposes, the course must be as broad as life itself.

If there is to be change in the proportion of aims in these days, it probably should be to accentuate the religious contribution of the Bible in those schools which have largely secularized its study. This seems implied in President Conant's statement in his last annual report (p. 10) where he says, "The student in high school, in college, and in graduate school must be concerned, in part at least, with the words "right" and "wrong" in both the ethical and the mathematical sense. Unless he feels the import of those general ideas and aspirations which have

been a deep moving force in the lives of men, he runs the risk of partial blindness." The faculty committees at Harvard, Tufts, and other colleges, studying "values" in the college curriculum indicate concern in an area where the Bible has so much to offer. At a recent meeting of St. Botolph's Club in Boston, a member, who is a national figure in one of the secular professions, said concerning the opportunities of Bible teaching in college, "Give them the Hebrew philosophy of life. Nothing in the world has ever equalled it." In these days of wartime when only courses which produce maximum results are retained, the challenge comes to all teachers of Bible to make their courses essential in campus life. The broad aims in approaching the Bible make it ideal for building up the total life of the college. In many institutions students have been increasingly enrolling in these courses during the recent days of uncertainty because they desire help in living. They must not be left disappointed.

Of the three major problems in teaching the Old Testament, the second is that of proportion. How shall the year be divided among the various parts of the Bible? About the only relatively uniform procedure is that, where the whole Bible is covered in one course, from 60 to 75 per cent of the school year is spent on the Old Testament and 25 to 40 per cent on the New Testament. This proportion is in harmony with the volume of material in each. The following remarks and suggestions are made on the basis of such a combined course in which both testaments are covered in one academic year.

In apportioning time within that period of the year devoted to the Old Testament, it is almost inconceivable that there should be such variation among instructors. Three teachers, in as many states, make the books of Kings the basis of their course. They read the entire content of those books with their classes, and correlate about this nu-

cleus whatever else of the Old Testament is touched. This would seem to be an impossibly dry approach, with undue attention to material of relatively inferior importance. Yet the abilities of a master teacher apparently can make even such a course interesting. Nevertheless it would seem that this procedure is not a wise one. Two and a half or three periods to the study of Kings ought to be sufficient, i. e. about $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 per cent of the total content of the Old Testament portion of the course. This contrasts with Mould's *Essentials of Bible History*, perhaps the best textbook available today, in which approximately 30 per cent of the content on the Old Testament is devoted to historical material from the books of Kings. The chief criticism of these teaching methods and this book is that a disproportionate amount of time is spent on material which has little value to the college student.

The same type of disproportion often prevails with regard to post-exilic history. A certain teacher spends many sessions on the Maccabean period alone. She literally goes into ecstasy over it. This procedure seems also a breach of proportion and would be incomprehensible to most teachers. Mould also partakes of this tendency by devoting about 10 per cent of the Old Testament portion of his book to history of the post-exilic period. In a well-proportioned course, one class session should suffice for that period, i. e. approximately 2 per cent of the total time.

Other groups of teachers build their courses around the prophetic tradition, following the scheme laid down by Goodspeed in his "Story of the Old Testament" and his "Short Bible." These practically ignore the early Hebrew narratives and begin with Amos. Experience along this line encounters the relative uniformity among the prophets, making it difficult to present the several ones with sufficient clarity that college students will gain much from them. A senior, who took a course of this type said,

"The prophets are simply impossible." The prophets are excellent for theological school study but too advanced, deep, and obscure for college students. This is largely because study of them presupposes so much more background than the average college student possesses. It is doubtful if more than six sessions, i. e. two weeks, ought to be spent with the prophets. For the college student, stress on other phases of Old Testament study is more fruitful. Perhaps the prophetic movement should be studied as a whole, without attempting to distinguish between the prophets, except in the case of several of the most important.

In choosing points for emphasis, it seems best to give most generous time to Genesis and the Psalms. Stress on Genesis is wise because it contains fascinating stories which are more widely known than any other portion of the Old Testament. This is the material which has had greatest influence upon English literature. Emphasis on Genesis is imperative today in light of the archaeological perspective which suggests that the patriarchal stories are basically historical. The ignoring or minimizing of Genesis in many books on the Old Testament is regrettable. Unless these backgrounds, in mythology and legend, are properly understood, the remainder of the Old Testament does not unfold as it ought. When a good foundation is laid in Genesis, the material from Exodus to Kings can be understood with such relative ease that much of it can be covered intelligently by the student outside class. To the introduction of the course and to Genesis, the first month of school may well be devoted, i. e. 12 sessions or 21 per cent of the total course-time. From Exodus to Kings it seems best to demand comparatively complete knowledge from students but in class only highlights should be considered. This means following the course of the historical books in their traditional order. No better procedure is apparent.

One class session can be spent profitably

on the development of Hebrew law. Three or four days may be devoted to books of prose fiction such as Ruth, Esther, Tobit, and Daniel. Four or so may be used with the wisdom writing in Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon. Following all this, as the second main point of emphasis, a course in the Old Testament may be brought to a fitting conclusion by devoting two weeks to the psalms. Even though many college courses are arranged so as to devote only one or at most two class periods to the psalms, their simplicity and grandeur is such that six, or even more, sessions on them can be well-spent. They give the summation of Old Testament religion in more assimilable form than is found in most of the prophetic writings. By using Jonah and the Psalms to build up to a grand climax in the Old Testament, a course may be brought to a well-rounded conclusion. In this scheme certain books such as the Chronicles are hardly touched. With others, little emphasis is given. The plan here outlined is constructed on the basis of stressing those portions of the Old Testament that will be of more interest and value to the college student.

The third major problem is that of interpretation. The Old Testament moves in a different thought-world from that in which the student of the present day is at home. This factor usually is not reckoned with sufficiently by teachers. We think when we have good translations of the Old Testament, rendering the Hebrew words into English, the most important barrier in mediating this body of literature to present-day English-speaking students has been surmounted. This however is not the case. Although it usually is not fully realized, there is a more formidable barrier which is difficult to overcome. This is the barrier between present thought modes and philosophical opinions and those almost wholly different ones which dominated the writers of the Hebrew scriptures. The thought

modes of antiquity must be translated into the manner of thinking which prevails at the present time. This is the greatest and most difficult task confronting teachers of the Old Testament. One can succeed in the mechanics of interpretation and yet fail hopelessly at this point.

This barrier is two-fold. On the one hand it concerns the interpretation of events in the natural world and on the other hand it is psychological. As to the first, we live in a world where we consider all phenomena of nature ordered by natural law. Earthquakes result from the buckling of the earth's surface. Hurricanes and violent storms are the consequence of inequalities in barometric pressure. Lightnings are simply the leaping of electric charges from one pole to another. Other natural phenomena are explained similarly. Such ideas however were wholly foreign to most of the Old Testament writers. They conceived of no such thing as natural law or the operation of natural forces. Lightning was the fiery breath of God, or fiery arrows shot from his bow, directed against some recalcitrant sinner or group of them. The earthquake too was a direct act of God, instituted for some special purpose. God also hurled storms forth for particular reasons and when those ends were achieved, he drew them back. So to the ancients the starting of every storm was a miracle and the stopping of every storm a miracle in the sense that a specific act of God was required.

When the Israelites in the wilderness ate quail and following thereon a plague broke out in which thousands died, they saw no connection between the two events. They assumed God sent the plague because of some sin they supposedly had committed. We recognize no such miracle, for the plague probably was ptomaine poisoning caused by eating quail which had been kept too long.

The account of God's sending fire and brimstone from heaven and burning up the

wicked cities of Sodom and Gomorrah also purports to be a miraculous directing of the divine wrath against those wicked cities. Careful reading of the Genesis account suggests a different explanation. For various reasons, the residents of Sodom and Gomorrah apparently were so hated by the people of Palestine that they decided to destroy them. Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, three chieftains of the highlands (Gen. 14:24), seemingly engineered the plot. On their mission of destruction, these three men stopped at Abraham's tent, to inform him of their plans or perhaps even to enlist his support. Abraham refused and pled with the leader of the trio to spare the cities. Undaunted in their plans, the three chieftains, probably accompanied by their armed hosts, descended upon these two cities in surprise attack by night and burned them in a great inferno. This reconstruction of the probable historical events means much more than the traditional view which looks upon this destruction as a specific act of God.

Although only these two examples of interpretation can be given here, every historical or naturalistic event in the Old Testament must be reinterpreted in similar manner. Such treatment cannot be accorded the few stories which do not have a historical basis, or Biblical fiction such as the Jonah story, but the method can be applied to a large percentage of the narrative portions of the Bible. Reinterpretation is more important today because the contemporary perspective regards far more as basically historical, especially in the Pentateuch, than would have been considered so ten or twenty years ago.

By showing that God operated no differently in the spheres of history or natural occurrence in those days from what he does at the present time, the Old Testament can be made to take on reality for students of today. To teach these stories in the traditional manner, as seen through the uncritical eye of ancient man, is as bad as teach-

ing that the earth is flat because the Bible says so. By using the Old Testament as a field for detective work, seeking, behind the assumed explanations, the real historical and naturalistic happenings, its study can be made a thrilling quest for students. To achieve this however, the accounts must be translated into present-day equivalents.

The same type of translation must be made with relation to internal factors within the individual, particularly psychological. Here too the thought modes of antiquity must be transformed into modern equivalents. It is fundamental to recognize a difference of premise between ourselves and the past. Assuming, whether correctly or not, that all thoughts are generated within the mind, we say "I thought this" or "I thought that." Ancient man, by contrast, had no such explanation. When a new thought came into his mind, he regarded it as a direct message from the deity and said "God told me" or "Thus saith the Lord." To take these statements literally, it must be assumed God operated differently in ancient times from what he does at the present moment. Then God talked with man, but now he no longer is on speaking terms with him. Many a youth has been troubled by this supposed indication of the wickedness of the present time. It reassures one, and gives new interest in the Bible, when we come to realize that God acted no differently in those days than he does now, and that he spoke to man in no different way from what he speaks to us today.

The concept of the chosen people furnishes an illustration of this ancient psychological perspective. In the Old Testament God is represented many times as affirming that the Hebrews are his chosen people. It is fundamental to realize we are not to find this in any objective utterance. The Hebrews then, as the Germans, the Japanese, ourselves, and most nations today, conceived the idea they were God's chosen people. Not accepting this thought as the

precipitate of their own egotism, the Hebrews ascribed it to God and represented him as speaking it to Abraham, Isaac, and each generation of their successors. Amos and Malachi saw the fallacy of this assumption but most people of the present day have not arrived at such a state of advanced thought even yet. In spite of all the explaining one can do, the dull third of a college class persists in speaking of "the chosen people" and in interpreting Old Testament events as God's special care for these chosen people.

Recognition of this Hebrew objectifying of thought and ascribing it all to God is also illustrated in the story of Abraham offering up Isaac. At first God is represented as ordering him to sacrifice his son Isaac. Then, as the knife is about to strike and slay the child, God calls from heaven again, telling him to stop. These two voices of God were probably merely the objectification of the lower over against the higher in the mind of Abraham. The lower commanded him to fulfill the old ritualistic requirements by sacrificing his firstborn son, but, when in the act of performing this, something rose up within him and said "This isn't right. Stop." As people then had no thought of the possibility of either of these proposals being generated within the mind of Abraham, both were projected upon God.

Sometimes, as in the call of Moses, only the higher thoughts are ascribed to the deity. The story is presented in the form of a dialogue between the individual and his God. We get much nearer the truth in interpreting such a cycle when we come to see that, rather than a conflict between man and God, this is a dialogue between the lower self and the higher self in conflict with each other. The voice of the higher self, called the voice of God through most of the Old Testament, is often the equivalent of our modern concept of conscience, or the "voice of conscience" as we frequently term it. To John we are indebted

for the statement that "No man hath seen God at any time." He might well have added that no man hath heard the objective voice of God at any time.

When students can be brought to look upon the concept of the chosen people as a national aspiration rather than a divine decree, and when they can understand that the voice of God is a factor in the internal mental processes, a long way will have been travelled in understanding the Old Testament. This does not mean the elimination of God and his influence in contemporary life. It merely concerns the way we describe the coming of that influence. To make the Old Testament not a curio of the past but an incentive to present action and spiritual receptiveness, we must show students its oneness with the life of our day, causing them to realize that Moses and the prophets had no more spectacular way of communicating with the divine than is possible for the least of us today.

There are other problems in teaching the Old Testament to college students in addition to these just mentioned. However, the conquering of these three leaves the way open for effective teaching. Let us repeat them.

First, to be of maximum effectiveness, study of the Old Testament should not be a one-sided affair approached from a particular point of view but it must be taught with a symphony of aims, varying according to the subject matter.

Second, there must be proportion in laying out the course so the class sessions can be spent on those sections of the Old Testament which contribute most toward the student's understanding, interest, and profit.

Third, the mental patterns of ancient times must be translated into the thought processes of the present. By eliminating the psychological and observational barriers which separate them, the past and present may be united in a unity of experience.

Presentation of Job in the Classroom

MARGARET B. CROOK

THE BOOK OF JOB is a superb dramatic argument that yields something new at every reading. It lends itself to such a wealth of interpretation that we may well get sidetracked in pursuit of this or that interest. Even if we determine to follow through the simplest possible line of debate, we shall have to resist the continual temptation to digress.

In presenting the book of Job in the classroom to readers who have not known it before, we shall take it as we would take any drama that we proposed to read aloud together. We shall let the actors speak; we shall endeavor to render each one as fully himself as we can conceive of him. We are well aware that the Hebrew text can reduce even a Martin Luther to desperation, and the biblical critic who begins to dissect the book to distraction; but assuming that, by and large, and with a very few reservations, it is still possible to treat the book as a splendid whole, we shall speak of "the author" and his intentions without apology.

Armed with a few simple properties, and searching for the thread of argument upon which best to base our presentation, dispensing with length in the speeches in the interest of conversational vividness, we shall try to make Job and his circle come alive for the space of a 40 minute recital.

Our needs are simple in way of properties: colored bedspreads for robes; scarves for turbans, or white handtowels thrown over the head and crowned by circlets of rope; a dais for Job and his friends to sit upon such as may be found in any class-

room beneath the teacher's desk; two chairs placed behind a screen in a corner of the room for the Lord and Satan; an improvised megaphone of stiff brown paper in the hands of the Lord to lend majesty to his voice; for the Reader who introduces the story, and fills in between the various scenes, a college gown; an up-turned waste paper container of fireproof material for a small altar at which Job kneels offering sacrifice at the opening of the reading; a small incense pot and a bit of smoking incense add the realism of an oriental odor; a handful of gay beads or other jewelry, gifts for Job in the final scene—and our properties are complete.

The book of Job falls naturally into three parts—Prologue, Argument and Epilogue.* For purposes of the reading they can be arranged in three acts, as follows:

THE PROLOGUE

Scene 1. THE COURTS OF HEAVEN

Reader, Job 1:1-6

The Lord and Satan, 1:7-12

Scene 2. DISASTER

Reader, 1:13-14a

Job is offering sacrifice, messengers enter and speak in swift succession.

1st. Mess., 1:14b-15

2nd. Mess., 1:16

3rd. Mess., 1:17

4th. Mess., 1:18-19

Job acts 1:20, speaks 1:21

Reader, 1:22

Scene 3. THE COURTS OF HEAVEN

Reader, 2:1

The Lord and Satan, 2:2-6

Scene 4. RENEWED DISASTER

Reader, 2:7-8

Job's Wife, 2:9

Job 2:10

Reader, 2:11-13, slowly as the three Friends enter and seat themselves about Job.

THE ARGUMENT

1st Cycle of speeches, 3-14

2nd Cycle of speeches, 15-21

3rd Cycle (in part), 22-23:7

Job's self examination, 29-31

Reader 32:1-5

*The Prologue (Job 1-2) and Epilogue (Job 42:7-17) may be rendered entire. Readers should make their selection, using about 50% of the subject matter of the Argument, quoting directly (never summarizing) and should ignore portions of the book of Job not listed here.

Elihu 32:6-37
 The Lord, 38-39:30; 40:2, 7-14
 Job, 40:4-5; 42:2-3 (omitting first sentence of 3), 5-6

THE EPILOGUE

Reader, 42:7a
 The Lord, 42:7b-8
 Reader, 42:9-17
 At 42:9 Job's three Sisters enter with gifts.
 At 42:13 the seven Sons of Job and three Daughters enter. All form a colorful group around him.

There was once upon a time an old folktale of Job, the good man who fell upon evil days and was reinstated. As we have it in prologue and epilogue our author has used his material freely, shaping it to his own purposes; we may never know how great are the changes that he worked in it.

The Reader introduces us to Job, "the greatest of all the children of the east," perfect and upright, a man of large family and vast possessions—sure signs in our author's day (approximately 300 B. C.) of the favor of God. Job is so carefully religious that he provides sacrifice even for the possible unspoken sins of his sons.

As the Reader pauses, the voice of the Lord startles and thrills the audience rolling in full-throated power from the megaphone behind the screen. It is in strong contrast with the high querulous tones of Satan, the tester, who moves among men measuring their virtue or lack of it; he is still one of the sons of God, his fall from heaven is another story, not referred to here.

Job, unaware of this heavenly conversation, serenely pursues his sacrifice. When the blows begin to fall we should remember that he has had no notice of their coming. His pious acceptance reveals him at the outset as a most faithful unquestioning worshiper. Satan fails to shake Job and asks for further powers. The Lord expresses supreme confidence in Job's integrity, he will stand up under any test however severe, so long as there is life in his bones. Job, stripped of everything he holds dear, is reduced to a state of extreme physical and mental misery.

Our author is well versed in the thought

patterns of his day. The majority of educated people in the circles in which he moves think that God assuredly recognizes merit, and gives the good man all that he deserves; conversely they think that God marks the wicked for destruction, childlessness, poverty, sickness and death before the normal span of life has been attained. The author implies in the brief opening scenes that this is the persuasion of Job himself, a blameless citizen stricken in mid-career. We are meant, also, to understand that there is a search afoot for new truth. The man to whom life has suddenly become a burden almost too heavy to be borne is to conduct the search. He will do it frantically, under frightful stress, appealing now to God, now to his friends, defying both God and the learned elders who have been his own teachers in the days of his youth. He will try valiantly to break the barriers of customary thinking that *shut him in* and separate him from the sympathies of his contemporaries.

Job's teachers had equipped him well for his position as a blameless leading citizen; they had trained him to avoid the inadvertent sins of his youth. What will they be able to say to him in this new and unexpected situation?

Let us follow this accepted line of thought of our author's day, the proposition that the good prosper and the wicked suffer destruction, and see what he is going to make of it. What does Job have to say about it that Eliphaz takes issue with and to which Job in turn replies? How does Bildad support Eliphaz, and make answer? What does Zophar come down upon with such unsympathetic force; and what has Job to say to all of them? How does the cycle run a second time? What, at the opening of the third round, has Eliphaz to say that challenges Job to his self examination in chapters 29-31?

The work of preparation for the reading turns chiefly upon our following of the argument through the two cycles of speeches and

such part of the third cycle as we see fit to use; only the very barebones of the thesis will be given here, in summarized form which is never satisfactory for the actual reading.

Job begins (3:20,23,26) asking, "Why do I live in such great misery? Why is my life not clearly laid out before me (as hitherto)? Why is God acting against me?"

Job, trying to explain his case in accordance with the accepted lines of thought, discovers the terrifying truth that the principles in which he has been brought up do not apply. He is in great "fear" and "trouble."

Eliphaz has no inkling of this truth. He says (4:4,7; 5:8,17), "You have made others strong; do you weaken when trouble touches you? The righteous are never cut off. Confess your sin, and recognize that God chastens you for your own good."

Job insists (6:4,29; 7:1), "God is doing this to me, although I am not unrighteous." He throws out the daring and desperate query, "Is God at enmity with man?"

For Bildad this is blasphemy, he cannot argue about it. He can only say (8:3, 6,20), "Do you impute injustice to God? If you were pure and upright he would bestir himself for you. He does not cast away a perfect man, neither does he help evil doers."

Job urges (9:2-3,22), "Can a man make good his own case before God, if God, in his might, has seen fit to destroy him?" He brings forth the heretical opinion that, "God does not distinguish between the perfect and the wicked."

Zophar can only explode (11:4,6,14-15), "You brag of your purity! God is punishing you less than you deserve!" He has seized upon Job's question at the opening of the cycle, and can only reply dogmatically, "Put your iniquity away from you, and your life will be clearer than the noonday."

To this Job replies (13:4,12,17,22,26; 14:14,20), "You are forgers of lies, and your wise sayings are ashes." He appeals to God

for a hearing, and says, "Can it be that you are holding against me the failings of my youth? If a man dies, is there any hope that he can live again? I would patiently wait (if that were so) a time to state my case before you; but I fear that you will never give it to me."

If basic emphasis in the reading of the first cycle is placed upon the line of thought that we have been following, and the speakers bring it out as they read the parts, they can fill out the argument with many of the famous and vehement passages that are supplementary rather than essential; and they can give appropriate emphasis to anything that directly supports the main theme. This variety of emphasis relieves the monotony of long speeches, and helps the hearer to an understanding of great issues without pause for explanation. Students who hear Job read in this manner never indulge in the otherwise usual complaint that Job is "grumbling at God." Job is probing the truth about God. In general he goes upon the assumption that if permitted to put his case before God, he would find God a judge personally interested in the individual; yet with his usual penetration, he suggests more than once that God is nothing of the kind.

The second cycle (15-21) is easier to analyze than the first. Tension is greater, the unkindness of the friends is more marked, their dogmatism is flagrant; Job is more lonely in his misery. Each side accuses the other of using "unprofitable words." Job is accused of setting himself up against the Almighty, and of bringing his suffering upon himself. Such sayings, Job replies, are "falsehoods"; the wise men are "forgers of lies," in fact there is no wise man among them. The accepted thought pattern is bankrupt.

In the third cycle Eliphaz roundly accuses Job of oppression of the poor, of neglect to give alms—a heinous crime in the eyes of the writers of the Old Testament for which there is not a shred of evidence in Job's record. Advised once more to con-

fess his sin to God, Job exclaims, "Oh, that I knew where I might find him."

If he cannot find God, Job can at least review his own record, and make a brave declaration that he will accept the fruits of his own conduct, will take poverty and starvation if he merits them (29-31).

We have come here to a great climax in the book of Job and are at the end of a long period of sustained tension in the reading. At this point the young man Elihu arrives offering semi-comic relief. In mock humility, but bursting with words, like a stream that has broken its dam, he adds nothing to the argument; he ends in trembling excitement, rushing from the scene as the voice of the Lord at length breaks forth in full power. It was clever of our author to make us a gift of this respite and we listen with rapt attention to what the Lord has to say to Job.

When the Almighty speaks he shows himself willing to justify his ways to man to the extent that he reveals himself as artificer and ruler of the universe; he challenges Job to take his place if Job thinks he can do any better.

Those who come upon the reply of the Lord after a casual reading are invariably disappointed. The splendid imagery and diction are lost upon them; "God is hard and indifferent," they say. A well-staged reading will obviate some of this disappointment, but does not entirely do away with it. It is true that this is not the God of the Great Prophets, or of Christian story; but once the general lines of the argument in the book of Job have been grasped, we can ask ourselves, What other portrayal of God could our author have put forward? He is determined to break down the old complacency that relied upon God to distribute reward and punishment, he is attacking a dogma that spreads like a miasma over the emotions of those who subscribe to it, and pre-

vents them from showing helpful sympathy to those in despair. The author is too great an artist to tell us these things; he leaves us full of eager desire to tackle these matters for ourselves.

We have been made aware of the intense tragedy of Job, and of the moribund state of his friends; but it takes a classroom reading to bring home to us the skill of the author in presenting his conversational God, a debater, albeit a one-sided debater, representative of an age of debate.

When the Lord has delivered his reply, Job is left in worshipful repentant wonder at his own daring. He apologizes to God; and rightly so. So far as he was following conventional lines of thought about God he was, in a measure, imposing upon God a course that God himself has now declared that he does not take, and that Job could not take either. God is not a judge of all and sundry, he is ruler of the universe. God is content to know that the nature of Job is sound, and to let him live out his own integrity to the limit. It is a splendid thing that Job can win this heavenly confidence; and Job himself is rightly content to have it so.

When he comes to the end of the argument our author is wise enough to let us down joyfully at the close of our reading. Tried by any logical measures, the Epilogue is absurd; but we are in no mood for logic, we have had enough. Let us enjoy seeing the three friends quailing before the dictum of the Lord (who is here once more the judge of the individual!); let us see them withdrawing in fear and trembling to expend their wealth upon the sacrifices the Lord has demanded of them. As the sisters of Job, his sons and his beautiful daughters flock to the dais, showering their gifts upon Job, we are left laughing and applauding, just as a normal theatre audience likes to laugh and applaud when the play is ended.

Niebuhr's "The Nature and Destiny of Man,"

Vol. II*

REVIEWED BY JOSE PH HAROUTUNIAN

HERE IS AT last the second volume of Dr. Niebuhr's Gifford lectures, published more than three years after they were delivered. The author has worked hard and long on this book, and given us his most readable, coherent and illuminating work so far. He has wrestled with the perplexing and crucial problem of human destiny, and has achieved a triumph of insight and sound judgment which is truly astonishing. We do not know of any book comparable with it in scope, penetration and practical applicability in our time. He has appropriated the truths in orthodoxy and liberalism, and reacted creatively to the major insights of Christian thought. He has thus transcended the paradox of pessimism and optimism, and given us a truly original discussion of the permanent problem of the book. Those who prefer superficial consistency in dealing with the complexities of the moral life, whether in the orthodox or in the liberal fashion, and seek a shortcut to the solution of them, will derive little comfort from this book. Those who believe that truth alone is a sure foundation for the good life and are willing to labor patiently in the search of it, will read and reread it with deep interest and to very great profit.

The argument of this second volume is integral to that in the first on human nature. In the earlier book, Dr. Niebuhr had argued that man is a part of the flux of nature and yet transcends it as "spirit." He had shown that materialism, idealism, and the dualism of soul and body which is characteristic of traditional Christian anthropology, do violence to the facts of man's involvement in

nature as a unitary personality and to his transcendence of the temporal world in his consciousness of his finitude. He had argued that the finite man tries to overcome his finitude, and thus falls into the sins of anxiety and pride; that he seeks fulfilment either in nature or beyond it, and thus succumbs to the mutually opposite errors of this- and other-worldliness; that he thus either affirms or denies life simply.

This new volume applies the above analysis to a description of two essentially opposing views of history. There is a view of history which regards it as ultimately meaningless. Naturalists who consider history as merely a continuation of nature and mystics who seek to become emancipated from nature and history, empty history of ultimate significance. They do not expect Christ who shall reveal the meaning of history and give us the promise of its fulfilment. On the other hand, non-prophetic religion, as seen in the nationalistic messianism of Israel or in the modern Renaissance-liberal religion of faith in man, affirms human life and history simply and looks forward to a fulfilment of life in history through a progressive triumph of good over evil. The first view is simply pessimistic and the second simply optimistic.

Opposed to both of these prophetic messianism sees history as a scene of both fulfilment and judgment. With his usually creative insight, Dr. Niebuhr observes that the primary contribution of the prophetic movement in Israel to the history of religion is not universalism. It is rather that the history of Israel, together with the history of the nations around, is a scene of both divine judgment and mercy. The prophets saw history as a fulfilment of good and as a source

**The Nature and Destiny of Man. II. Human Destiny.* By Reinhold Niebuhr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943 xi + 329 pages. \$2.75.

of persistent evil. They saw good and evil in history as growing together, and expected a Day of Yahweh which would be a day of darkness as well as light. To them history was a scene of permanent conflict, and they saw the resolution of this conflict only through a universal judgment at the "end of history." Indeed they expected a Messiah, but they saw his advent as the occasion of the destruction of accumulated evil as a prelude to the ultimate triumph of the good.

It is because Jesus accepted this revolutionary and revelatory insight of the prophets that he saw the permanent destiny of love in history as suffering. "Love which enters history as suffering love, must remain suffering love in history. Since this love is the very law of history it may have its tentative triumphs even in history. . . . Yet history does stand in actual contradiction to the law of love; and Jesus anticipates the growth of evil as well as the growth of good in history" (p. 49). Herein lies the true originality of Jesus, the origin of his self-knowledge as the suffering "Son of Man," and the wisdom and power of his Cross which revealed the meaning of history, and mediated to us the judgment and mercy of God as well as His power towards the fulfilment of life. The truth about history, therefore, as seen through biblical revelation is that it is an ambiguous process in which wheat and tares grow together until the *eschata*, when history will come to an end and the goal of history will be attained in the ultimate triumph of good over evil.

Armed with this biblical revelation, which is apprehended by faith, Dr. Niebuhr presents us with a philosophy of history which does ample justice to the legitimate optimism in Renaissance-liberal religion. In this book we find no simple revulsion to "the pride of the modern man" which is characteristic of much "neo-orthodox" writing. He affirms the truth in the modern doctrine of progress in so far as it indicated "unending possibilities of higher fulfilment." He pays

due tribute to the Renaissance as a towering landmark in the progress of our understanding of the vital and rational possibilities in history. "The Renaissance as a spiritual movement is best understood as a tremendous affirmation of the limitless possibilities of human existence, and as a rediscovery of the sense of a meaningful history" (p. 160). Sometimes his new appreciation of the Renaissance mind carries him perilously near that utopianism which he has criticized so often and so well. ". . . The achievements of justice in history may rise in indeterminate degrees to find their fulfilment in a more perfect love and brotherhood; but each new level of fulfilment also contains elements which stand in contradiction to perfect love" (p. 246). In another instance, he speaks of "some corruption" as the limit set "sanctification in individual life, or social perfection in the collective life" (p. 156). It is doubtful if any sane Christian utopian in our day has asked for more than this! In our judgment, when Dr. Niebuhr speaks in such a vein, he leaves the door wide open for the kind of sanctificationism which has been a perennial source of orthodox and liberal pride. His more profound "neo-orthodox" insight, which is the major contribution of this volume to Christian life and thought, is that greater good in society is always in danger of producing greater evil. To forget that tares grow together with the wheat is a perennial human failing which few appreciate better than Dr. Niebuhr himself. We wish he had said less to confuse this truth. At this time when pride and despair threaten to undo us. Dr. Niebuhr's more dialectical conception of goodness as possessed and yet not possessed is more relevant and salutary than his occasional lapses in favor of the notion of a simple though imperfect possession of it.

The ambiguity of the historical process has its counterpart in the life of the individual person. Human destiny in the world is at once fulfilment and failure. The doctrine of grace means that God enables us to

do good and forgives us the evil which we do. Justification and sanctification are equally permanent in our relation to God. Dr. Niebuhr examines these doctrines with great insight and acuteness, and provides us with statements of the mutual relations which are superior to anything else we have read on the subject. He exposes the unreality of the traditional view that we are first justified and then sanctified. Traditional theology failed to do justice to the fact that growth in goodness is not a simple process. Men do not become better and better without being exposed to greater and greater harmfulness. There is a pride of the sanctified which is at the root of the fanaticisms and cruelties which have long played havoc in the history of the Christian church. . . . Justification without sanctification, found in Lutheran theology, is a denial of the meaningfulness of our common life. Sanctification without justification, found in the Renaissance-liberal view of the normal life, is a denial of the contradiction to *agape* in all human life. We are never good so as not to need forgiveness and never forgiven except to realize goodness. This situation of men cannot be stated except paradoxically, and to forget it is to fall into either pride or despair. Sanity, decency, true tolerance and charity in human relations demand our recognition that neither truth nor virtue are simply possessed or not possessed by any one. Dr. Niebuhr's chapter in this book on "having and not having, the truth" is a definitive statement of true tolerance which is so badly needed in our day.

The ultimate fulfilment of life and history cannot occur in history. Therefore, the New Testament and the catholic church have expected the return of Christ at the end of history. The eschatological doctrines of the Second Coming of Christ, the Resurrection and the Judgment, are symbols of the expected fulfilment of history which means the final separation of good and evil and the ultimate triumph of good over evil. To deny the return of Christ is to

deny the ultimate victory of that love whose destiny in the world is suffering. To deny the Resurrection is to deny the meaningfulness of history. To deny the Judgment is to deny the eternal significance of the good and evil which we do. The death of persons and the passing of cultures require that we do not see their fulfilment merely in terms of the future of total historical process. No man or generation is merely instrumental to the good of posterity. Hence, each man or generation stands in an immediate relationship to the eternal. And yet, each man or generation is related to the future and must participate in the fulfilment of total history. Therefore, the Christian faith, which alone reveals the meaning of history and gives us the promise of its fulfilment, can be stated only in terms of symbols. Although the relation of time to eternity cannot be stated literally, neither time nor eternity can be declared unreal without denying the meaningfulness of personal and historical existence.

It is really hopeless to try to review this book adequately. Much of its value lies in the vitality of the author's mind expressed in numerous passages of creative writing, in an astonishing succession of fresh insights into the material handled, in many striking turns of thought and acute observations upon sundry matters, and in a profound unity of argument which ties the innumerable threads of thought in the book together. There is a feast waiting for the patient and thoughtful reader of it. We find it equally hopeless to estimate the significance of this volume for the church and society in our time. It will certainly exert a powerful influence upon the life and thought of the future, provided there are enough people who will take the time and trouble to learn its message. If used sufficiently, this book could mitigate greatly the pride and despair which are locked together in deadly conflict with truth and goodness, and thus further the cause of brotherhood in our time.

DISCUSSION

A Correction and a Comment

CHARLES C. TORREY

I ask leave to make a correction in Professor Cadbury's review of my *Documents of the Primitive Church*, which appeared in the February number of this Journal. The passage in question is on page 52, second column; it reads: "In Rev. 21:9 γεμόντων the author is taking of Aramaic verb 'to fill' as 'active voice instead of passive' (p. 222), when the Greek verb always means 'be full,' never 'to fill.' This he called an example than which 'no clearer proof of translation could be desired!'"

Professor Cadbury's mistake is in supposing that the verb was taken here as active in meaning. The active voice of this Aramaic verb, as of the same verb in Hebrew, is usually passive in signification, 'be full,' as in the present case. Since the evidence of translation in this passage is found in Aramaic usage and in a known habit of Greek translators of Semitic texts, the reviewer's error is perhaps not surprising.

The procedure, it may be added, in examining Greek texts which are suspected of having Semitic origin is precisely the same as in demonstrating English translations from French, German, Spanish, or any other language. It is a task that always calls for long study and great care. The

errors made in any extensive translation from Semitic into Greek are sure to be numerous and recognizable; numerous, mainly because of the ambiguity of an unpointed text; recognizable, because of the invariable custom of rendering literally. The great amount of such translated material (the "Septuagint") available for study and comparison gives a sure guide which is invaluable. No other variety of translation, ancient or modern, can be recognized and demonstrated with such clearness and certainty. Every close student of the LXX renderings knows this.

Is the investigation of *New Testament documents*, to determine whether there is translation from Semitic originals, a legitimate study? One might easily get the impression from Professor Cadbury's review that in his opinion it is not. Indeed, the tendency is rather widespread to cry "hands off!" and to refuse to consider the question at all. But on the one hand, only students of Semitics can undertake such a quest; and on the other hand, the more important the documents, the more imperative the necessity. The evidence in the Gospels and in the Book of Revelation is simply overwhelming, in amount and in quality. The "exhibits" in *Our Translated Gospels* can show this to any reader with especial clearness.

BOOK REVIEWS

Theology

Liberal Theology An Appraisal. Edited by DAVID E. ROBERTS AND HENRY PITT VAN DUSEN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942. ix + 285 pages. \$2.50.

This volume consists of a group of sixteen essays by former students, associates and friends of Professor E. W. Lyman, and was published in his honor. It is, at the same time, an attempt to appraise the rather vaguely defined entity called "Liberal Theology." The first chapter was written by Walter M. Horton. It seeks to present Lyman's development as a Liberal Christian who, in his later years, reluctantly joined the flight from the liberal point of view. The next six chapters, written by such men as W. E. Hocking, J. A. Bewer, E. R. Hardy, Jr., A. C. McGiffert, Jr., R. M. Jones, L. Van Law Cady, with the help of Mary Ely Lyman, consider several epochs in history to determine what relevance liberal interests may have had in them. The eight concluding chapters of the book consider "the foundations of Liberal Theology." They are written by W. P. Montague, J. M. Moore, D. E. Roberts, J. C. Bennett, H. P. Van Dusen, H. S. Coffin, D. C. Macintosh and W. Adams Brown. Each of the authors apparently approached his task seriously, with the result that the essays are worthy of careful reading and criticism.

It should be observed that the two important subdivisions of the book have rather misleading titles. Part II is entitled "The History of Liberal Theology," but it can be called that only in exceedingly vague terms. It consists rather of a collection of essays in which an historical element is doubtless present, but which do not constitute a history of the movement as such.

The same criticism may be levelled at the next section. It is entitled "The Foundations of Liberal Theology" and bears that name only by courtesy. The several essays which constitute this division are significant, but do not consist in more than contributions toward the foundations of a liberal theology. The editors deserve credit for suggesting the outlines of a volume on liberal theology toward whose writing these sixteen essays would certainly contribute much.

Several impressions emerge as one reads these essays. The first is the indefiniteness of the term "liberal theology." The several authors are not in agreement as to its meaning. Definitions abound; but they are at best only in very general agreement. Even the editors refrained from attempting to find a common area of agreement in the conceptions found in the several essays. In actual fact, the editors refrained from all prefatory remarks! The second impression left by the contributing authors is that Liberal Theologians, in general, were averse to the critical consideration of epistemological and metaphysical problems. This failure to provide adequate epistemological and metaphysical foundations for their systems may account, in part, for the wholly inadequate defense erected against the wave of irrationalism which struck American shores during the 1930s.

One of the authors of this volume, who would probably deny his own affiliation with Liberal Theology, exhibits this tendency in what appears to be a flagrant confusion of theory with fact. He writes that "a Christian philosophy is possible only if reflection can acknowledge and interpret the Incarnation without dissolving it into a myth, or a metaphysical principle" (p. 186). Is the "Incarnation" a basic fact with which Chris-

tian philosophy, if there be such a thing, must start, or is it one of the several theories developed historically to explain the emergence of the Christian movement and the experiences of many persons through the centuries of Christian history? The "Incarnation" is a "fact" of history: some men actually developed this theory and presumably believed it. Consequently, it is one of the facts which must be included in any history of the theories men have held with reference to the person called Jesus of Nazareth. However, if one is attempting to develop a philosophy for Christian living today, it is quite possible to do so with no reference whatsoever to this specific theory. There are other instances of the same kind in the volume which reflect inattention to primary epistemological considerations.

Another impression is the rather general acceptance by these several authors that Liberal Theology should be spoken of in the past tense. Some apparently assume its death; others feel its pulse with growing discouragement. There are some, however, who believe it has a place in contemporary religion. This appears in Hocking's definition of the heart of liberalism as "reverence for reverence" (p. 57). Man as worshipper is, according to him, "the basis of all human equality, since man as worshipper is on his way to his truth and his destination" (p. 56). Reverence for reverence is thus reverence for the reverent person. Such reverence makes it imperative that we adopt the liberal attitude in our approach to persons.

It is to be hoped that this volume becomes, not the requiem of a dying liberalism, but the marching orders for a revived and revised liberal theology. It is my judgment that liberalism in religion, with all of its weaknesses and superficialities, is much better than any of the vocal 'isms' which loudly and gleefully proclaim its imminent death.

WILLIAM H. BERNHARDT

The Iliff School of Theology

Heritage and Destiny. By JOHN A. MACKAY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. 109 pages. \$1.50.

This volume is based on lectures delivered at Lafayette College and Davidson College. Taking his point of departure from the fact that political philosophies in the new states of our time are based on a turning back to the national heritage as the determiner of destiny, and conscious of the moral and religious limitations of such a perspective, the president of Princeton Theological Seminary urges us Americans to see that our only true heritage is God. Taking up his theme with a chapter on "The Road to Tomorrow Leads through Yesterday," he elaborates it with chapters on "God and Israel," "God and the Individual," "God and Culture," and "God and the Nation."

This reviewer is delighted with the book, especially with the lectures on God and culture, and God and the Nation. Dr. Mackay makes very effective use of his Latin American experience for many illustrations. His style throughout has a clarity and charm rarely associated with theological writing. This book is for Everyman. But that is not to say that it is thin or superficial. It is more accurate to say that the simplicity of presentation results from a clear mind and a good English style.

From a religious point of view, Dr. Mackay classifies modern nations as 1. *secular* (Uruguay and France as illustrations); 2. *demonic* (totalitarian nations); 3. *covenant* nations. The *covenant* relationship has sometimes been expressed as a state church, as in England, Scotland, and Norway, but it is also expressed in the constitution and national institutions of a country, as in the United States. It is this particular heritage which has given this nation its character. Our true destiny can be attained only if we keep the religious principles in mind on which the nation was founded. The freedom for which Americans have fought so many times is derived from the belief that

all men are created free. God gives man freedom. To forget this religious basis of our political life is to enter the wide gate which leads to totalitarianism. Moreover, it is the duty of this nation to "employ force for the restraint of evil and the establishment of justice; to wage the present war to a finish, not as a holy war or as a Christian cause—for no war can be holy, and no political cause can be fully Christian—but as a necessary, though disagreeable, police measure."

S. VERNON McCASLAND

University of Virginia

Religion

Religion Faces the World Crisis. By LEROY WATERMAN. Ann Arbor: George Wahr, Publisher, 1943. 200 pages. \$2.25.

This is a comprehensive book. The author deals with the major factors of religion, —its origin, its development in connection with the Hebrew people, its climax in Jesus and its application to the present world of conflict.

In a fearless and critical manner he analyzes the texts of the Old and New Testaments that he may discover the most important ideas of the Jewish religion and bring to light the real Jesus. Jesus distinguished between the nationalistic prophets and those who taught an ethical, universal religion. He approved of the latter and his ideal was the culmination of this growing, ethical interpretation of God and God's will for men.

Jesus was misunderstood by his disciples and also by the leaders of the early church. Their interest in him was messianic and nationalistic even though he repudiated these ideas. We must therefore discover the real Jesus in the records made by those who misunderstood him. Fortunately they recorded many of his sayings which contradict their interpretation of him and they preserved ideas that were quite beyond their intellectual grasp. We are thus enabled to discover

that his teachings have to do with all people and not with one nation. Contrary to the messianic ideal he befriended the sick and needy, he went about teaching as did the prophets and he paid with his life for fearlessly proclaiming an ethical, dynamic, universal religion.

Jesus synthesized the significance of the Law and the Prophets in terms of love to God and man. He extended the Jewish love of neighbor to include all men. He talked much of the Kingdom or Reign of God which he said would be realized on earth when men treat each other in the spirit of neighborliness. He placed the Golden Rule at the apex of ethical religion. This is attained when man learns that his highest self-interest is best served by treating others as though their interests were truly his own.

The tragedy of civilization, says Dr. Waterman, is that this high religion was not put into practice by the Jews and as a result of this neglect the nation was destroyed. Nor has it been practiced by Christians and we are now engaged in the most titanic conflict of all time. It is a treasure still buried in the earth. This golden rule of human conduct with its application to individuals and to the whole human race is kept on exhibit like a museum piece on display. However, where it has been tried as is the case in some homes and in certain social groups its success has been manifest.

Christians have not been able to live in peace and harmony, for the most part, even among themselves. "The Christian ideal of the Kingdom of God on earth has so far been rendered completely impossible of realization by Christian themselves." . . . "Jesus set out to transform the world into a single cooperative society based on mutual respect and reciprocal good will in all its parts . . . after nineteen hundred years we still live in an essentially pagan world . . . the significant teachings of Jesus still remain unrealized, among his followers as elsewhere." Jesus might well say to this generation of so-called Christians, "you have missed the point, you are yet in your sins."

"The highest ethical religion known to mankind has never had a trial on a community scale anywhere, at any time."

JOHN MASON WELLS

Hillsdale College

Man Discovers God. By SHERWOOD EDDY.

New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.

270 pages. \$2.50.

An indefatigable witness for Christ for two generations, especially to those of the international student household, and author of over a score of volumes, Mr. Eddy in his latest book turns to religion in its more personal aspects. Not that the volume however lacks social "challenge." Acknowledging his indebtedness to William James' *Varieties* as to method, he frankly avows a more practical aim. In the face of a world well-nigh destroyed for lack of a knowledge of God, the "book seemed almost to force itself upon the writer." And he would be impervious indeed whom this clearly written and many tentacled essay failed to "find" at one point or another and set upon at least a by-path to God.

In presenting a series of some thirty sympathetic sketches of the discovery of God made by as many pathfinders spanning nearly thirty centuries of history, from Asia, Europe, Africa and America, Christians and non-Christians, rationalists and mystics, saints and scientists, prophets and poets, Mr. Eddy offers a cumulative testimony to a religious reality which encounters man and is reflected in this experience. As he asks, "Do they not show the typical and normal response of human nature to this objective spiritual stimulus? Is there any adequate way of accounting for these men—and a vast multitude like them—in their character, their teaching and their service to humanity, save by the reality of God" (p. 255)? In the experiences of these (and other) adventurers, the author traces a dialectic process like the interplay of divine sovereignty and human freedom, namely, that divine revelation and human discovery are not con-

tradictory or independent functions, but rather supplementary and correlative, are the same act seen from two sides, the initiative always resting with God. In viewing the discovery of God through three millenniums, he notes a racial rhythm, a social principle of alternation, a dialectic preservation of opposite tendencies in a state of tension in the various periods of history, as well as in individual life. Nor does this process relate merely to a watertight compartment of life called religion. "Rather the infinite life of God calls out the multiform [?] activity of man in economics, politics, science, art, philosophy and religion. For man is made in the image of God" (p. 3). Nevertheless, self-centered man's catabolic, disintegrative activities inevitably bring on social decay and crisis at the end of an age, when chaos, anarchy or revolution impend. Then a discoverer of God appears, renewing man's vision, calling the world back to its Source. The hidden God reveals himself afresh and we have the correlative processes of divine revelation, usually hidden or disclosed only to the prepared prophet or community, and the bold, seemingly original and fresh discovery of God. Four living discoverers have been selected for inclusion among Mr. Eddy's thirty: Mohandas Gandhi, Albert Schweitzer, Reinhold Niebuhr and Arthur Compton.

The procession of the pathfinders begins with "the divine Plato" and the Platonists Philo, Plotinus and the Neoplatonists, ancient and modern; then come the rugged prophets of Israel: Amos, Hosea, Micah, Jeremiah and Second Isaiah, leading up to Jesus and Paul. St. Augustine as representing the synthesis of Hebraic and Hellenic thought is followed by the mystics St. Francis, Thomas à Kempis, Brother Lawrence, Pascal and George Fox. A chapter entitled "The Discovery of God during the Protestant Reformation" discusses Martin Luther, John Bunyan, John Wesley and Jonathan Edwards. That faith in an intelligent God may be a thoroughly scientific

attitude attest Sir Isaac Newton, Pasteur, Michael Pupin and Arthur Compton; and as for the modern discovery of God, Count Tolstoy, William Rainey Harper, Booker T. Washington, Reinhold Niebuhr, Mohandas Gandhi and Albert Schweitzer stand as witnesses.

Obviously nothing forbids him who would question Mr. Eddy's selection from writing another book embracing his particular choices. One basis for the author's selection was his belief that each man in his own way had discovered God, and that each, whether by way of warning or example, may have some possible significance for us in our own growing discovery of God. The book ought to be a religious educational tool of no mean value for the dissipating of religious illiteracy. Certainly a careful reading constitutes an enlarging experience. Taken together, the essays illustrate a saying from the Fourth Discourse in the *Gita*, "However men may come to Me (Vishnu-Krishna), thus even serve I them. By whatever path they come, O son of Pritha, that path is Mine!" Nor does the author attempt to force his subjects into a standard pattern of experience; yet he is impressed by a remarkable unanimity and almost identity of experience in a few essential points: conviction of sin and realization of grace; repentance and faith; conversion and progress; the means of growth in the equivalent of the Word of God as the food of truth; prayer as the believer's vital breath, sacrificial service, participation in the life of the beloved community and in its rites, or sacraments, or prophetic preaching and the discipline of suffering.

And too, with all the paths, by no means all of equal merit or equally rewarding, the author points to a more excellent way in him who is the Way, the Truth and the Life. The clue to the meaning of nature and history, Mr. Eddy sees in Jesus Christ "the fundamental and final revelation of God, so incarnate in humanity that we can expect no revelation that can ever invalidate him."

Hence, one cannot fully comprehend God without Christ, in whom once for all man discovers the self-revealing God.

PAUL F. LAUBENSTEIN

Connecticut College

Philosophy

In Commemoration of William James: 1842-1942. By H. M. KALLEN (Editor) AND FIFTEEN OTHER CONTRIBUTORS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Xii + 234 pages. \$2.75.

This beautifully printed James volume consists of four parts. Part I contains the papers read at the New School for Social Research on November 23, 1941. Part II is the program at the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association at Poughkeepsie, on December 29, 1942. Part III gives the program of the Western Division, at Madison, on April 24, 1942. Part IV adds some papers from other occasions.

Although the volume contains no thorough or systematic treatment of James's great work on *The Varieties of Religious Experience*—his only book to be reprinted in a popular edition (the Modern Library), there are several papers here of notable interest to students of religion.

Dickinson S. Miller, the only living American philosopher who writes in classical English, describes "A Debt to James," namely the banishment of the boggy of "unconscious consciousness" and the simple doctrine that there cannot be any unfelt fact of feeling. This insistence on consciousness is of great importance to any philosophy of personality. Miller even infers that the physical world is in "kinship with psychic fact," and thus approximates a kind of "panpsychism."

The treatment of James as empiricist by John Dewey is important, as are all utterances of Dewey, but only indirectly relevant to religion. He does, however, point out that James was less concerned with the truth of scientific propositions than with their

"weight," their "momentousness." In short, he was concerned with value more than with fact. For this very reason the reviewer doubts Dewey's judgment that the *Principles of Psychology* is James's greatest work; *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, rather, expresses his deepest insights.

President J. Seelye Bixler's essay on James's "Moral Equivalent of War," raises questions of ethical and religious import, showing that James's ideals expressed a philosophy loftier than his empiricism and pragmatism avowed. Professor George S. Brett's rather dull and wearisome treatment of the relations of philosophy and psychology has the merit of pointing out James's readiness "to accept a Cosmic mind which thinks in and through individual minds."

In a careful study of James's pluralism, Dr. Victor Lowe discusses James's interest in the self, evidenced, for example, in his view of the pluralistic universe as "a collection of selves." Yet Lowe doubts whether the self is primary for James; rather, the "pulse" or "moment" of experience is primary. Emotionally, James might have been a personalist, says Lowe; but logically his doctrine of pulses led to panpsychism. Professor Eugene W. Lyman gives an attractive account of James as philosopher of faith. The treatment is biographical and religious rather than theological or philosophical. Professor Lyman is one of the few contributors to allude to the great Gifford Lectures.

The most brilliant essay in the volume is probably Professor Donald C. Williams's treatment of "William James and the Facts of Knowledge." This essay is extraordinarily well documented and presents material that any student of the nature and grounds of belief should consider. It is, however, difficult to be convinced by all of the author's theses, especially the view that James was greatest on "the creative, speculative, metaphysical" side. Rather, he was greatest as a man of noble ideals and of fertile action.

This volume is one that no student of American philosophy can neglect without loss.

EDGAR SHEFFIELD BRIGHTMAN
Boston University

Reckoning With Life. By GEORGE ARTHUR WILSON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. 322 pages. \$2.75.

This essay on several aspects of Personalism is by the late Professor of Philosophy in Syracuse University. The book is well written. The exposition is effective and the main contentions are clear. There is a helpful index. The view presented is precious if true.

Aside from the main argument, some criticisms may be fairly made. The title is not very indicative of the book's contents. While the author keeps human experiences fairly in mind, he does scant justice in his references to the modern sciences. To some readers his main contentions will seem "unscientific" and highly speculative. His use of "values" is equivocal and confusing (see pages 77, 206, 220). And his treatment of the problem of evil seems fragmentary and inadequate.

The body of the book is a discussion of five main topics: Theory of knowledge, the self, evil, immortality, and the ultimate Reality. The first two are treated more fully.

In the experience of knowing, it is argued that the self is active rather than passive, and things, objects, are our mental constructs. They have no independent reality or existence. Our minds respond to stimulations not from the things but from an independent causal Reality, and we construct the objects of our experience. Our stimulations do not come from the objects; objects are the production of our active, reactive minds. "The entire sense world originates in the activity of the percipient, working under stimulation. . . . The physical world as known to any individual results from his own constructive activity in

response to stimulation from the causal order. Our common world is a human invention, enabling us to communicate with one another; it has no other existence or significance." If this epistemological interpretation is correct, then most of the author's main ideas logically follow.

The self is unique, *sui generis*, and ultimate. It is an experient, an agent. It is a unity, and is valuing, constructing, achieving, growing, and perdurable. For itself a body is provided. "The self puts forth a body, it lives in its body, it manipulates its environment by means of its body." The active self has categories such as space, time, and unity, by which the world of experience is patterned. Right knowledge of the sense world and of ultimate Reality can only be had from this proper view of the nature of the self. Self, personality, is the "key" to knowledge and to the nature of the world and its sustaining Cause.

Evil is mostly a way of looking at certain experiences and events. Really, evil is occasion and stimulation to rectify situations which have gone awry. It is negative, the limiting or thwarting of good; and if taken in the proper spirit it may become a stimulus to achieving the good. "There seems, so far as human insight has yet reached, no real evidence of hesitancy or trial-and-error method in nature's processes. Because the mills of God grind slowly, they need not be supposed out of order. . . . Evil is evil only with reference to the good and has a strictly ancillary status. Evil finds its *raison d'être* in affording room for growth toward good."

Immortality might almost be assumed from the nature of the self alone. Three "intimations" are elaborated: "The self is capable of unlimited development . . . nature as a world of values is a training place for selves . . . the ultimate Power is in constant interaction with human selves in the world process." Death then becomes an incident. The active self perdures; and the ultimate Reality wills it.

The ultimately Real is characterized by unity, power, and intelligence. Himself independent, causal, ultimate, God wills into being all that is, including selves and their thought-objects, and does so continuously. God is personal, good, interacting with men all along, and is permanent. His purpose for men is the final answer to all questions. "The world of human experience with its rich and varied content of good and evil is, so far as we can see, the best if not the only kind of world for the making of character. . . . The world regarded as a powerhouse for values consists of the cosmic network of processes that call for effort on our part to direct them toward the ends we would achieve. . . . We should view human beings as they must be apprehended by the infinite Intelligence that has them in training."

HORACE T. HOUF

Ohio University

The Church

The Nazi Christ. By EUGENE S. TANNER.
Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc.,
1942. 53 pages. \$1.50.

Professor Tanner deals with the problem of the Protestant Church in Germany under National Socialism. His discussion is based on books which are available only in German. "The Nazi Christ is Rescued from Judaism," discusses the position of Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (1889-1901) that Christ was not a Jew, but was of mixed blood, predominantly Semitic. Prof. Tanner calls attention to the fact that in 1938 forty-five out of sixty-five professors on the theological faculties of German universities were teaching that Christ was an Aryan. "The Nazi Christ Repudiates Christianity" treats of the views of Alfred Rosenberg, whose Christ is a fiery hero full of the Nordic spirit. "The Nazi Christ Becomes a Pagan" outlines the argument of Ernst Bergmann (Leipzig) in *The Ger-*

man National Church (1932). The German Christ is not to be confused with the Jesus of history. He has been in process of creation for centuries; he is the Christ venerated by the people as their fuehrer. The culminating step is taken when "The Nazi Christ Joins the Protestant Church." This is exhibited in the writings of Pastor J. B. Schairer, *People-Blood-God* (1933), and Pastor Siegfried Leffler, *Christ in the Third German Reich* (1935). Their Christ was the first notable anti-Semite who lost his life for resisting the Jews' plan to dominate the world. Prof. Tanner concludes with a chapter on "Why There Could be a Nazi Christ." This reinterpretation of Jesus finds its place in the process whereby through the centuries Jesus has been subjected to numerous reinterpretations.

ELMER W. K. MOULD

Elmira College

Judaism

Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism. By GERSHOM G. SCHOLEM. Jerusalem: Published by Schocken Publishing House for the Jewish Institute of Religion, New York. 440 pages. \$4.75.

Standard dictionaries of the English language define "Kabbalah" as "a kind of system of occult theosophy or mystical interpretation of the Scriptures"; or as a "secret or esoteric doctrine or science"; and even as "occultism" and "mystery." Professor Scholem's new study of "Jewish Mysticism," however, demonstrates that these standard definitions and clichés are largely misnomers. For, as a matter of record and fact, occultism and mystical escapism are only incidental aberrations of Jewish mysticism but definitely not bound up with its essence. At its best, Kabbalistic thought is pure theoretical speculation. Professor Scholem is rather emphatic on this point, and so the occult side of Kabbala is to him, as to all serious students of Jewish mysticism, a regrettable aberration. He thus

steers clear of both an uncritical acceptance of Kabbalism and an equally uncritical rejection and condemnation of its mystical elements. Instead, he recognizes its merits without, however, closing his eyes to its defects. Thus he writes, "If one turns to the writings of great Kabbalists one seldom fails to be torn between alternate admiration and disgust. There is need for being quite clear about this in a time like ours, when the fashion of uncritical and superficial condemnation of even the most valuable elements of mysticism threatens to be replaced by an equally uncritical and obscurantist glorification of the Kabbalah" (pp. 35f.).

Yet, despite the fact that some Kabbalists "went over the edge of the precipice" (p. 37) and fell victim to occultism, and even worse, the great Jewish mystics adhered to remarkable restraint and chastity in description of their ventures into the spheres of the mystical. The Kabbalists "glory in objective description and are deeply averse to letting their own personalities intrude into the picture. . . . It is as though they were hampered by a sense of shame. Documents of an intimate and personal nature are not entirely lacking, but it is characteristic that they are to be found almost wholly in manuscripts which the Kabbalists themselves would hardly have allowed to be printed. . . . On the whole, I am inclined to believe that this dislike of too personal indulgence in self-expression may have been caused by the fact, among others, that the Jews retained a particularly vivid sense of the incongruity of mystical experience with that idea of God which stressed the aspects of Creator, King and Law-Giver" (p. 16).

It is fortunate that Dr. Scholem has emphasized this point of major importance, for it is the touchstone, as it were, of the legitimacy of the Kabbalah within the framework of the Jewish religion. The personal reticence of the Kabbalists is therefore virtually identical with the reticence Bib-

lical and Rabbinic literature observes in the delineation of the intimate emotions and experiences of its heroes. In point of fact, the glorification of the hero is essentially foreign to the spirit of Judaism which focuses its entire light and attention upon God, and the work and the message to which "His servants" (i. e. the Jewish spiritual heroes) are dedicated. This authentic Jewish tendency ruled also the Kabbalah, for as Professor Scholem asserts, "among hundreds of Kabbalists whose writings are known to us, hardly ten would provide sufficient material for a biography containing more than a random collection of facts, with little or nothing to give us an insight into their personalities" (p. 17).

We have dwelt on this point at greater length because we feel that this traditional personal restraint has been the guardian angel of Jewish mysticism, keeping it from going heedlessly over the edge of the precipice. This thesis is substantiated by the fact that as soon as that restraint was sacrificed, in some of the pseudo-messianic movements and in the later development of Hasidism, the result was a weird rule of abject superstitious belief in the miraculous powers of certain powers, the pseudo-messiahs and the Tzaddikim (Hassidic rabbis) respectively.

It is impossible to convey in a short review an adequate idea of the rich contents of Professor Scholem's brilliant volume. His "Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism" is a *major* contribution. Here is profound erudition and the acute and penetrating thinking, and the genius too, that distinguish the works of the trail-blazers of Jewish science. Professor Scholem's book is a work whose place and standing will be assured for a long time to come. Its nine chapters—General Characteristics of Jewish Mysticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Jewish Gnosticism, Hasidism in Medieval Germany, Abraham Abulafia and the Doctrine of Prophetic Kabbalism, The Zohar, the Theosophic Doctrine of the Zohar, Isaac

Luria and his School, Sabbatianism and Mystical Heresy, Hasidism—present a complete view of the "Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism," besides a profusion of directives and hints to its lesser trends and by-paths.

TRUDE WEISS ROSMARIN

The Jewish Spectator

Ancient History

The Legacy of Egypt. Edited by S. R. K. GLANVILLE. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1942. Xx + 424 pages. \$4.00.

The fascination of ancient Egypt for westerners began with Pythagoras, Herodotus, and Plato—and has not decreased to the present time. The present volume, which for the most part was prepared in 1939 and has finally appeared in spite of war-time difficulties, is therefore a welcome addition to the "Legacy" series (in which the volumes on Greece, Rome, Israel, Islam, India, and the Middle Ages have already been published). Although the literature on ancient Egypt is so vast that the list of publications in the New York Public Library, compiled by Ida A. Pratt in 1925, comprises almost 400 large pages, good summaries of ancient Egyptian civilization are scarce in English: we had only Adolf Erman's antiquated *Life in Ancient Egypt* (1894); (the new edition by Hermann Ranke [1923] is only available in German) and A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization* (1927), in addition to scattered sections in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. The present volume is not a systematic study of Egyptian culture, but a valuable substitute which may be used for outside reading in college courses. This book differs from Erman's and Moret's works in two respects: in accordance with the plan of the "Legacy Series" it deals with those features of civilization which have had an influence on later times; and it is not confined to ancient Egypt, but includes Roman, Christian, Islamic, and modern Egypt.

The first nine chapters (following the

general introduction by Glanville) deal with ancient Egypt, and present good summaries of the following topics: the calendars and chronology (J. W. S. Sewell), the political history of Egypt and the Near East before Alexander (Margaret S. Drower), writing and literature (A. H. Gardiner), art (J. Capart), mechanical and technical processes (R. Engelbach), science (R. W. Sloley), medicine (W. R. Dawson), law (E. Seidl), and Egypt and Israel (W. O. E. Oesterley). The last chapter, which should be of particular interest to the readers of this JOURNAL, is somewhat disappointing in two ways: first because it adds little information to what had been said in the previous chapters; and secondly because it merely epitomizes well known facts. The other chapters, notably those of Gardiner, Engelbach, Sloley, Dawson, and Seidl, are admirable summaries of vast topics, written in simple and clear language. No less excellent is the concise introduction to the study of Greek Papyri—an endless sea—penned by C. H. Roberts, supplemented by A. H. M. Jones' chapter on "Egypt and Rome."

The history of Christianity in Egypt is compressed into thirty-one pages by J. M. Creed (Alexandrian Judaism and Christianity) and De Lacy O'Leary (Coptic Christianity and Monasticism): their meager summaries should induce the reader to search for fuller information. The same may be said of the last three chapters: Egypt and the Byzantine Empire (H. I. Bell), the contribution of Islam (A. J. Arberry), and the legacy to modern Egypt (A. M. Hocart). Strangely no reference is made in the last chapter to the classical work of E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836).

A book of this type has the qualities and defects of all collections of essays by separate scholars: there are both repetition and lack of continuity, differences in point of view and conclusions, and an inevitable variation in the quality of the contributions in accordance with the competence of the au-

thors. The emphasis on "legacy" gives prominence to certain topics, in excess to their intrinsic significance, while others are omitted. The most regrettable omission is a treatment of ancient Egyptian religion, which unquestionably has left us a legacy; less important is the failure to record the survival of certain ancient superstitions, such as magical practices and the belief in lucky and unlucky days. But so rich and varied is the fare set before us in this excellent volume, that carping criticism would be ingratitude.

ROBERT H. PFEIFFER

Harvard University

Christianity

The Great Century, (1800-1914) in the Americas, Australia and Africa. Volume V of *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943.

Readers of the *Journal of Bible and Religion* have become accustomed to the appearance of new volumes of Dr. Latourette's great *History of the Expansion of Christianity*. Many of them must marvel as does the writer of this review at the frequency at which such substantial volumes have come from the press. There is not much new that can be said about this particular volume which is but one of three that are dedicated to the story of the expansion of Christianity in the 19th century. The first volume dealt with Europe and the United States, the sixth volume will deal with its spread in North Africa and Asia, while this fifth volume tells of its spread through the Americas except for the United States, through the great island world of the Pacific and Australia and throughout Africa south of the Sahara desert. Attempting to cover so vast a field even in a large volume it was inevitable that the amount of material upon any one aspect of it could be but very small. Thus for example, so important a

figure as Robert Moffatt in Africa gets one-half a page, David Livingstone rates but three pages and other persons and events of importance in like proportion. So condensed and sketchy an account will satisfy few people about points of particular interest to them. It may then be asked what is the value of such a treatment. It is not highly interesting reading, resembling in many parts rather a catalogue than a running account of a great historical movement. Two things redeem the volumes and make them of exceedingly great value. First, if the detail which one desires concerning a given topic is not there the book at least provides an adequate bibliography in which one would be sure to find all that is certainly known about the matter under consideration. The contribution of the book at this point cannot be too highly stressed. The greater contribution of the series however, seems to this reviewer to lie in the sum-

maries at the end of the chapters and of each successive volume which do serve to bring some element of unity into the total picture. Here one catches the sweep of a great movement, the forces which it met and by which it was hindered or helped and something of the impact of the expanding movement upon the cultures within which it developed. The general reader soon learns of the value of these summaries and can quickly, if he does not find himself interested in the detail, turn from chapter to chapter and feel something of the thrill of a great living movement as it sweeps across the world.

This series is of course a must item for all college and university libraries and it will be often referred to by scholars in the field of church history and missions for many years to come.

CHARLES S. BRADEN

Northwestern University

THE CONTRIBUTORS' COLUMN

(Concluded from page 74)

ROLLAND E. WOLFE is Assistant Professor of Old Testament and Semitic Languages at the Tufts College School of Religion. In commenting upon one part of his contribution to this issue, Dr. Wolfe explains: "My devoting comparatively little time to the prophets is not due to any dislike of the prophets on my part. In fact, the prophetic writings are my special field of research. I feel, however, that the study of the prophets is valuable only when one has the time to individualize them, and this cannot be done in a survey course."

MARGARET B. CROOK is a member of the Department of Religion and Biblical Literature at Smith College and editor and part author of *The Bible and Its Literary Associations*. Her paper is the outcome of several years of experimentation with Job as a dramatic reading in the classroom.

BOOK NOTICES

Biography

Evangelicals, Revolutionists, and Idealists. By FRANCIS J. McCONNELL. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. 1942. 184 pages. \$1.50.

Whenever a new book comes from the pen of Bishop McConnell one is given to wonder how he does it. For with all the increase of production there seems evident no diminution of quality. This volume which constitutes the eighth of the series in the Drew University Lectureship in Biography does not depart from the high standard set both by the lectureship and by the lecturer himself.

The sub-title indicates the special interest of the book. Here are gathered the biographies of "Six English Contributors to American Thought." Certainly at this time when every effort is being made to strengthen relationships between England and America such a study has real worth.

As one first glances at the names of the men studied—Oglethorpe, Wesley, Whitfield, Paine, Berkeley, and Wilberforce—he is given to remark that the bishop has gathered together "strange bedfellows." But that he has done it with a purpose soon becomes evident. These men had in reality much in common in their influence upon America.

To the appellation of "idealist," or "utopian dreamer" perhaps all would have to admit that they were, but their dreams found embodiment in principles and action which not only profoundly affected their time but are also affecting ours.

One finds it hard to select a favorite from among the six men presented. However to this reviewer the study of Thomas Paine was the soundest, fairest study of that much maligned thinker that has been presented to the reading public in many a day.

IVAN GEROULD GRIMSHAW

American International College

Theology

Christian Doctrine. By J. W. WHALE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. 197 pages. \$2.00.

First impressions are not always to be trusted. But I shall acknowledge that this book immediately made an appeal. The author apologizes because the book is an outline. However, it is

not a scanty treatment. From the first, one sensed an unusual power to express thought richly and tersely. And the quotations seemed to fit into places reserved for them.

As the title of the book suggests, the subjects dealt with are the long recognized fundamentals of dogma. The approach is definitely of the conservative and orthodox type. Dr. Adolph Keller suggests that European thought carries with it a strong attachment to the past, while American theologians reflect the pioneer outreach of their native land. There is much truth in this observation. Possibly this is the ground reason why the book does not speak with compelling pertinence to this age. It definitely belongs to that type of thought which is emphasizing the single stream of revelation through Israel and Greece, and which seems to have turned its back on the world faith of comparative religions. Perhaps the forces which are producing narrow nationalism are also having telling effect upon theology.

Reconstruction

The Hope of a New World. By WILLIAM TEMPLE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. 125 pages. \$1.35.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (this book was published when he sat at York) has assembled a series of broadcasts and sermons, eleven in all, which express his strong conviction that there is hope today for mankind. It is a disciplined, hope, however. His thinking is realistic and open to ugly fact. And the basis of his confidence is in the power of God. It is in this combination of open-eyed understanding of evil and unwavering assurance of deliverance, under God, which gives this book its power.

Furthermore, this hope is channelled. "This world can be saved from political chaos and collapse by one thing only, and that is worship." That sentence is daring, but the Archbishop backs it up. Couple with this the proposal that after the war the peace conference be delayed until five years have elapsed, and we may catch something of the vigor of both realistic thought and vigorous faith.

ELMER E. VOELKEL

First Congregational Church,
Beloit, Wisconsin.

THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By JULIUS A. BEWER

There is no need to introduce this book to readers of the *Journal of Bible and Religion*. Most of you have known and used it over a period of years and are fully aware of its value. Now, when you are planning summer school and fall courses in Old Testament literature, you will not forget that Dr. Bewer's scholarly and reverent textbook is the classic in its field. \$3.00

THE LITERATURE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

By ERNEST FINDLAY SCOTT

This companion volume has won an equally high place in the esteem of teachers of Biblical literature. The two books together provide an excellent basis for a year's course. \$3.00

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Judaism

Modern Jewish Preaching. By SOLOMON B. FREEHOF. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1941. 171 pages. \$1.50.

The present volume is based on the Alumni Lectures which the author delivered at the Hebrew Union College in March 1941. It is therefore primarily intended for novices in the ministry. There is some good and sound advice on how to construct and deliver effective sermons of abiding religious value. An especially useful feature of this handbook are detailed outlines of over fifty scriptural and non-scriptural sermons, suitable for all types of pulpits. Dr. Freehof, the author of one of the best popular commentaries on the Psalms, has again shown himself a master in blending profound scholarship with popular presentation.

Shehitah. A Study in the Cultural Life of the Jewish People. By JEREMIAH J. BERMAN. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1941. 514 pages. \$4.50.

This scholarly volume of over 500 pages aims at investigating from the cultural-sociological point of view the complicated and many-faceted theoretical and practical aspects of the "Jewish Method of Slaying Animals" (*Shehita*). Accordingly, there are chapters on *Shehita* in Biblical Times, Talmudic and Gaonic Times, Since the Year 1000 in Europe and the Orient, as far as chronology is concerned. Other chapters are: The Shohet and His Qualifications, The Meat Dealer, *Shehita*: A Community Asset, The Sale of Meat to Gentiles, Modern Anti-*Shehitah* Legislation. About one-fourth of the book is devoted to the study of *Shehita* in New York and other communities in the United States.

Notwithstanding its highly technical nature, some chapters of this important contribution to Anglo-Judacia will be of interest also to others

than those directly concerned with problems of ritual slaughter.

TRUDE WEISS ROSMARIN

The Jewish Spectator

Miscellaneous

The Road to Fulfillment. By BENJAMIN RUSH. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1942. 225 pages. \$1.50.

One might review this book by the simple expedient of reproducing the sub-title which reads: "Being a brief explanation of twenty-one leading Spiritual Laws whereby man may, through obedience, obtain dominion over his environment, secure contentment, happiness, and serenity, fulfill the purpose of his life in the world of matter, and fit himself for progress in the world of the spirit."

Certainly one who attempts to give embodiment to such a thesis "takes the world as his parish." This Benjamin Rush does, and although not a preacher he proves a careful conscientious shepherd and guide. His study proves again that one can be a successful business man and at the same time, although a layman, a genuine religious scholar.

The twenty-one laws which the author mentions—among which are those of Love, Faith, Prayer, Non-resistance, and Immortality—are not substitutes for thinking but instead tenets of living which must be understood and practiced if one is to live a life of happiness, serenity, and fulfillment.

As the apostle Paul pointed it out many centuries ago so this modern Paul also stresses the fact that supreme among all laws is the law of love. "If man truly seeks for God, somewhere along the road light will flood his understanding, and his heart will tell him that God is Love and that therefore the first law of God is Himself, the Law of Love." Let him therefore who would know God, learn the laws of God and his universe.

IVAN GEROULD GRIMSHAW

American International College

THE ASSOCIATION

Personnel

Readers of the Journal may appropriately bring to the attention of college and university officials the following list of teachers of religion who are available for positions. (This does not mean that they are at present unemployed).

Letters should be addressed to Dr. Eugene S. Ashton, Chairman, Committee on Vacancies, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md., who will forward all communications to the appropriate code number, thus serving to bring the institutions and the candidates in touch with each other without the responsibility of making recommendations or selections.

Information concerning possible vacancies should also be sent to Dr. Ashton.

A listing of all those enrolled this year was sent to the deans of instruction of more than 550 colleges and junior colleges which offer courses in Bible or Religion.

B-1—Man; A.B. (Lang.), Findlay College; Th.B. & Th.M. (N.T.), Princeton; Ph.D. (N.T.), U. of Edin. 13 yrs. teach. exper. Desired subj.: N.T. Grk., OT. & N.T. Can also teach: Classical Lang., Theol., Homiletics.

B-2—Man; A.B. (Anthrop.) U. of Penn.; B.D. (O.T.), Union Sem.; S.T.M. (O.T.), Harvard; Ph.D. (Bib. Lit.), Brown. 2 yrs. teach. exper. Desired subj.: O.T., Bib. Lit. & Hist. of Near East, Archeol., and Lang. Can also teach: N.T. Grk., Hebrew, Semitics, and Hist. of Rel.

C-2—Man; A.B. (Hist.), Baker U.; B.D. (Grk. N.T.), M. A. (Eng. Bible), now writing thesis toward Ph.D. (Grk. N.T.), Drew Sem. 1 yr. of grad. work in Grk. N.T. at Cambridge U., Eng. Exper. in pub. sch. teach, 1 yr. of sem. teach. in Grk. N.T. Desired subj.: Grk. N.T., Hebrew, O.T., Eng. Bible, Church Hist. Can also teach: Theol., Hist., Eng.

C-3—Man; A.B. (Classics), Grinnell; B. D. (Theol.), Oberlin Sem.; S.T.M. and Th.D. (Phil. of Rel.), Union Sem. and Columbia Univ. 25 yrs. teach. exper. Now head of

dept. of rel. in mid-Western co-ed college. Desired subj.: Phil. of Rel., World Rel., Current Prob. of Christian Thinking, Ethics, Phil., Bib. Lit. Can also teach: European Intellectual History, Chinese Thought and Culture, Chinese, N.T. Grk.

L-1—Woman; B.S. (Math.), Monmouth College; Th.M. (Theol.), & Th.D. (Rel. Educ.), Iliff Sch. of Theol.; M.A. (Psych.), U. of Denver; grad. work at Columbia and Union Sem. 4 yrs. teach. exper. Desired subj.: Bible, Rel. Educ. Can also teach: Math., Psych., Hygiene.

M-2—Woman; B.R.E. (Rel. Educ. & Fine Arts in R.E.), Boston U.; M.A. (Bible), Boston U. Sch. of Theol. Spec. work in educ. at W. Chester State Teachers College. Desired subj.: Bible, Rel. Educ., Fine Arts in Rel. Educ., Hymnology. Can also teach: Worship, Rel. Art.

M-4—Woman; B.A. (Bible and Grk.), and M.A. (Bible), Ohio Wesleyan U.; M.R.E. (Rel. Educ.), Boston U. 17 yrs. teach. exper. Desired subj.: Bib. Lit., Church Hist., Hist. of Rel. Can also teach: Rel. Educ., Eng., High School Math.

M-5—Woman; B.A. (Psych.), U. of Rochester; M.A. (Educ.), Hartford Sem.; 1 yr. grad. work (China & India), Hartford Sem. Present position, Director of R.E. Desired subj.: World Rel., Personal Rel. Living, Bible, Teachings of Jesus, Psych.

M-6—Woman; B.A. (Music, Eng.), Des Moines U.; B.R.E. (Bib. & Rel. Ed.), Baptist Miss. Training School; M.A. (O.T.), Berkeley Bapt. Divinity School 3 yrs. High Sch. teach. exper. Desired subj.: Bible, Rel. Educ. Can also teach: Glee Club, Voice, Eng.

M-7—Woman; B.A. (Rel.), Vassar; B.D. (Bible), Union sem.; Desired subj.: Bible, Life of Jesus, Rel. Educ. Can also teach: Comparative Rel.

O-1—Woman; B.A. (Hist.), U. of Richmond; B.D. (Bib. Lit. & Exeg.), Crozer Theol. Sem. Desired subj.: N.T. & O.T. Hist. & Lit.; Hist. of Rel. Can also teach: Christian Ethics and Morals, Hist., Soc., Psych.

P-1—Man; B.A., Ottawa U.; B.D., Andover Newton Theol. Sem.; M.A., Harvard. 3 yrs. teach. exper. college and jr. college. Desired subj.: O.T., N.T. Church Hist., Ethics, Rel. Educ. Can also teach: Hist. of Rel., Phil., Debating.

S-2—Man; A.B. (Rel.), Eureka; B.D. & Ph.D. (Church Hist.), Hartford Sem. 1 yr. of grad. work at Marburg; 1 yr. at Oberlin. 1 yr. teach. exper. Desired subj.: Church Hist., N.T., Hist. of Rel., Phil. of Rel., & Psych. of Rel., Grk. O.T. Can also teach: Rel. Educ., Pract. Theol., Speech.

S-3—Man; B.A. (Lat. & Eng.), Western Re-

serve U.; S.T.B., M.A., & Ph.D., (N.T.), Boston U. Grad. fellowship for study at Berlin & Heidelberg. 6 yrs. teach. exper. Desired subj.: N.T. or O.T. Can also teach: Church Hist., Phil., Phil. of Rel., Ethics.

S-5—Woman; B.A. (Eng.), Mary Baldwin College; M.R.E. (Rel. Educ.), Bib. Sem. of N.Y. 5 yrs. exper. teach. & directing rel. activities. Desired subj.: Eng. Bible, Bib. Lit., Rel. Educ., Eng.

W-1—Man; B.A. (Science), Park College; S.T.B. (Theol.), Western Sem.; M.A. (Educ.), U. of Chicago; Th.D. (Theol.), Central Baptist Sem. Grad. work at McCormick Theol. Sem. 3 yrs. residence work toward Ph.D. (Phil.) U. of Chicago, & U. of Mo. 17 yrs. teach. exper. Desired subj., Bible, Phil., Rel. Educ. Can also teach: Spanish, Educ., Econ., Latin, Grk., Eng.